

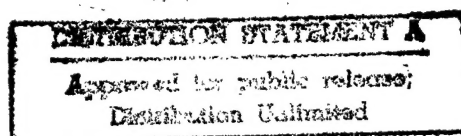
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12 FEBRUARY 1988



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# ***JPRS Report***



## **Soviet Union**

### ***Political Affairs***

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# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-88-008

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## Two RSFSR Obkom Plenums Reviewed

### Yaroslavl Obkom

18000143a Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in  
Russian 2 Dec 87 p 3

[Article by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA special correspondents P. Nikitin and Yu. Nikolayev: "Subsidized for Too Long: From the Plenum of the Yaroslavl Obkom of the CPSU"]

[Text] Unlike the ordinary situation, it will be necessary to begin the story about this plenum from the end. Or, rather, from the episode that ended it. Although it did not really contain anything that was so very unusual, the understanding of today's tasks was reflected there, we would venture to say, in the most clearly expressed way.

This is what happened. After the discussion on the report from the buro of the Yaroslavl Oblast Committee of the CPSU concerning the work of managing the restructuring had come to an end, the person giving the report — obkom First Secretary I. A. Tolstoukhov — gave the closing speech, and the appropriate resolution had been adopted, buro member, First Deputy Chairman of the oblast ispolkom, chairman of the oblast's agroindustrial committee, T. P. Kolpakov, took the podium. This is literally the statement that he made:

"I have endured, I have really endured the criticism, but I could not contain myself in one place. I cannot agree with the statement made by Anatoliy Pavlovich Urov, chairman of the oblast people's control committee, that I am opposed to private plots. What do I not agree? Because I have issued an order in which everything has been defined, and the development of the public's personal plots, with the considerable growth of those plots, has also been defined! Secondly, I engage every day in this matter with representatives of the rayon ispolkoms, the RAPO [rayon agroindustrial associations], and farm managers. Isn't that true, comrades?..."

The hall reacted with scattered claps and a confused murmur. A few of our neighbors angrily said, "It would have been better if he remained silent!"

Another neighbor recalled about how an attempt to organize a fruit-growing cooperative among the obkom collective itself had been disrupted. The persons who had "taken it into their heads to become orchard-growers" were told to write an application to be released from party work. The present chairman of the agroindustrial committee had supported that policy. Incidentally, people also expressed views of another kind: were people really to believe that Kolpakov was the only guilty person?...

This would seem to be an individual incident. It would seem that a person who had been subjected to criticism simply wanted to make a statement. But everything is not that simple. And among the cries of approval and

indignation, one could not fail to sense that invisible barrier that divides the opposing forces of those who adhere to the old way of thinking and those who adhere to the new approaches.

Obviously, it is necessary to make a stipulation immediately: the plenum had given a decisive rebuff to the ideas and views "of yesterday," but that, obviously, by no means indicates that an end has been put to them once and for all. And the attempt of one of the oblast administrators to detach himself from the responsibility for the state of affairs in the sector that had been assigned to him was additional proof of that. But his invincible faith in the power of paper (since he had asked why complaints had been made against him, if he had published an order to develop the personal plots) and the failure to accept another opinion certainly attest to that also, don't they?

But now let us discuss the argument that arose. If we are to be objective, we cannot fail to admit the obvious: A. P. Urov, chairman of the oblast KNK [people's control committee], had given too lavish an evaluation to an administrator who, according to his job assignment and his party duty, bears the complete responsibility for developing agricultural production, including that production on the peasants' plots. In his statement at the plenum, properly speaking, he limited himself only to giving individual examples. In particular, he said that on the Plamya Kolkhoz, Pervomayskiy Rayon, farmstead-type buildings had been erected, but as for the sheds and subsidiary facilities for maintaining the household livestock, they had "forgotten" to build them. On the Svoboda Kolkhoz, Bolsheselskiy Rayon, 400 persons are living on the central farmstead, but the total number of livestock on their plots is four cows... But even these mosquito bites had incurred the wrath of the chairman of the agroindustrial committee.

But, dear reader, let us just assume that this same Comrade Urov had been bold enough to present an extensive and realistic picture of the true situation on people's private plots. Then he would certainly have had to state that the neglected state with regard to the peasants' private plots, such as is observed in Yaroslavl Oblast, can scarcely be found anywhere else in the entire Russian Federation. In any event, at a recent session of the Presidium of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, extremely depressing figures were quoted. On 69 out of every 100 peasant plots in Yaroslavl Oblast, as of today there are absolutely no cattle. Out of 100 village families, only seven raise piglets, and the area of the private plots assigned to kolkhoz members and sovkhos workers in recent years has been reduced to two-thirds the previous area. But the most surprising this is that, for ruining (no other word can describe the situation!) the peasants' private plots, no one has yet borne any responsibility whatsoever.

Incidentally, this same Kolpakov did not arrive "off the street" at the administration of the oblast agroindustrial committee. He had previously been a party obkom



secretary who had been responsible for developing rural areas, and then had occupied the job of deputy chairman of the oblast ispolkom for agriculture... So who then can be held accountable today for the ruination of these very same private plots owned by rural residents?

After the plenum, many of the participants asked if they could share their impressions about it. Just one opinion was expressed: it had been a very long time since there had been such a frank and exacting discussion at the oblast party organization. But none of the speakers expressed any particular delight in this regard. On the contrary, the activists regretfully stated that the question had been raised to the point of well-principled discussion only after a considerable delay, after too much had been lost. And it is difficult not to agree with that. And the speaker bitterly emphasized, "The restructuring has not yet touched sufficiently deeply many of the aspects of life in our oblast and has not yet realistically reached many places."

One could also express oneself in sharper terms. Especially since the acceleration here, unfortunately, seems to have been turned backward. In order not to be suspected of being prejudiced in any way or particularly of being a "gloomy Gus," we shall attempt to be meticulously precise in evaluating various aspects of the region's economic and social condition.

"In the oblast's industry," the speaker attested, "one continues to see a drop in the growth rates in the production of output and in labor productivity and a lagging behind the assignments in the five-year plan... Every other enterprise is failing to fulfill the plan for contractual shipments..." The situation is not a bit better, and might even be worse, in the agroindustrial complex. According to the report given by obkom Second Secretary V.M. Dorofeyev, who spoke at the plenum, "during the first two years of the five-year plan, the oblast incurred a debt to the state of 84,000 tons of potatoes, 42,000 tons of vegetables, and almost 9000 tons of flax products. A large lagging behind the Food Program occurred in the production of grain, meat, milk... There has been an increase in the number of farms operating at a loss, and a drop in the gross production of agricultural output and in the milk yields per cow..."

That is in the economy. But, as the plenum emphasized completely correctly, "the restructuring is being carried out primarily for people. The main element in it is the intensification of the social orientation..." And it is very regrettable that a true premise has not yet found any real embodiment, and that "the social sphere remains the worst bottleneck." On the eve of the plenum, the members of the obkom buro carried out a series of meetings with labor collectives and listened to a rather large number of complaints about the poor operation of transportation, interruptions in deliveries of bread and other essential commodities, the unsatisfactory quality

of newly activated housing and of household and municipal services, and serious shortcomings in the providing of medical services. The plenum noted: "These demands are completely just and fall within the confines of the possible." It has been recognized that "The people of Yaroslavl Oblast deserve a higher standard of living than the one they have..."

And, as the expression goes, that's the situation in a nutshell. But a riddle still remains: why does one observe one failure after another in the economy and in social development? The plenum undertook a number of attempts to find an answer. Various views were expressed. Perhaps for the first time in many years the persons who had gathered made an attempt to give a sober, realistic evaluation of the situation that had been created and to dig down deep to the sources of the negative processes. And a greater and greater number of speakers were inclined to think that today's miscalculations are primarily the consequence of uncritical, superficial evaluations of what was done in the oblast over a period of many years. The failure to accept criticism was elevated here practically to the level of a principle. That was mentioned thoroughly and in detail by L. A. Chesnokov, candidate member of the obkom buro, editor of the oblast newspaper Severnyy Rabochiy. He himself had the occasion frequently to explain, defend, and prove the correctness of publishing a particular critical item. Yes, incidentally speaking, there is as yet none of the necessary respect for the printed critical word. The editor could not recall whether the obkom bureau of the oblast ispolkom had ever considered at their sessions even one thoroughgoing statement made in the local press or had ever supported the journalists...

An administrator who does not know how to listen to a critical word, or who does not want to, in the final analysis hurts the cause and hurts himself. People stop telling him the truth, and his subordinates begin imitating him. The same can be applied to a political and economic agency. Failure to accept criticism usually begins at the bottom, and the people there also stop listening to what is being said "from the top."

I. A. Tolstoukhov in his report analyzed in detail the very serious situation that the Andropol Production Association of Motor-Building has found itself. The obkom buro repeatedly pointed out serious shortcomings in the work of its administrators and the party committee, "but the criticism was ignored, was not made known to the collective, and no practical conclusions were made to improve the state of affairs at the enterprise."

One must not forget that the attitude toward criticism considerably determines the authority both of the party administrator and the party committee. And, understandably, it is not without reason that this authority has proven to be obviously reduced in the party's Yaroslavl Obkom. That was mentioned in an extremely eloquent manner by many speakers.

Here is the summarized information that was shared with the plenum participants by A. A. Bystrov, chairman of the party control commission under the CPSU obkom. Recently an inspection was made of the manner in which 26 fundamentally important resolutions by the party's oblast committee were being fulfilled. And what did that inspection reveal? It was ascertained that not a single one of them had been fulfilled completely or within the established deadline. If the obkom continues to reconcile itself to that lack of monitoring in the future, one can scarcely feel that it will achieve any success in restructuring.

The speaker and practically all the other persons who spoke during the discussion period referred to the large number of programs that have been adopted in the oblast. Programs for fodder production and the production of consumer goods, for road construction and "the priority development of the northern rayons..."

Unfortunately, practically all of them are being fulfilled unsatisfactorily. Special concern was expressed with regard to the fact that in a few places the absolutely fundamental ideas of restructuring are being eroded. Many enterprises that have been formally changed over to the new working conditions have not yet got rid of the fetters of petty guardianship. Frequently the attempt is made to squeeze the new economic mechanism into old, obsolete structures.

In Yaroslavl Oblast, as everywhere else in our country, the democratization of all aspects of social life is widening and gaining strength. Nevertheless one frequently observes that this process is being restrained artificially. Out of every hundred new administrators, for the time being only 25 are elected by the collectives. Moreover, the obkom buro itself with one hand votes for democratization, but with the other hand holds onto the work style that involves the issuing of commands. And it is probably not accidental that Yu. V. Kuzmin, second secretary of the CPSU Yaroslavl Gorkom, ruefully stated that people continue to be appointed as administrators over the head of the gorkom and the enterprise party committees, and frequently the labor collectives are bypassed when questions of penalties and incentives for officials are being resolved.

The obkom and the oblast ispolkom have also failed to restructure themselves in the approaches to the satisfying of people's spiritual and material needs, although this task here is perhaps much more critical than in many other places. And that is at least for the fact that for years and entire five-year periods, administrators at various levels had forced upon them the idea that "we are an industrial oblast that is being subsidized." Consequently, everything will be given to us — meat, milk, shoes and clothing — so why should we wrack our brains about them? So the situation got to such a point that, as was noted at the previously mentioned session of the Presidium of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, this is the sixth year in a row that the oblast has failed to fulfill the

commodity-turnover plan. In the public's saving bank passbooks 1.5 billion rubles have accumulated, and every ruble of deposit has been supported by commodities by only 16 kopecks. Also, the party and soviet agencies have been providing no real opposition to the free-ride mentality. The plenum restated that the measures to increase the production of consumer goods and the production of foodstuffs, which measures were planned recently, are not being carried out completely.

As one can see, the CPSU obkom, its buro, secretariat, and its entire apparatus will have to overcome a considerable number of stereotypes in their thought processes and in their daily activities. It is a good thing that people here have begun talking loud and clear about the shortcomings, and the specific individuals responsible for them no longer remain in the shadows. The plenum mentioned by name the persons who were guilty of causing disruptions in the work and in the restructuring. Now it is exceptionally important for all its participants to be imbued with what is essentially a simple idea. The restructuring in Yaroslavl Oblast deserves better party leadership in all its sectors.

#### **Bashkir Obkom**

*18000143b Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Dec 87 p 2*

[Article by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent M. Merzabekov: "Without a 'Youth' Discount: From the Plenum of the Bashkir Obkom of the CPSU"]

[Text] It will not be any exaggeration to say that the party's Bashkir Oblast Committee has been counting off the restructuring in its work, essentially speaking, since the days of June-July 1987, when three plenums were held, one after the other. Those plenums gave a just evaluation of the serious deviations from the norms of party life which had been committed by the previous leadership of the CPSU obkom, the instances of persecution of persons they did not like, and violations of socialist legality. Those deviations reflected on the work with cadres, and on the republic's socioeconomic development. As everyone knows, those plenums led to the almost complete renovation of the makeup of the buro and the secretariat. Simultaneously the leadership in a number of republic agencies was replaced.

And now the new makeup of the obkom buro is reporting at the plenum concerning the work of administering the restructuring. Although every member of the oblast committee knows that the process of renovation in the party, in society, and in economics takes its beginning from April 1985, the discussion at the plenum returns, willy-nilly, to the time interval limited by four and a half months. What has changed since then?

Here I would like to make a small digression. A day before the plenum, I had a talk with R. Kh. Khabibullin, the first secretary of the party's obkom.

I asked him, "Has the new makeup of the buro been able to develop its 'aktiv' in such a short period of time? What was the speaker going to discuss from the rostrum?"

"Probably the most typical thing lies in the fact that it was precisely in the process of preparing the report that the buro members, the secretariat, and the obkom apparatus penetrated more deeply into the meaning and purpose of the report on the restructuring and defined their place in it more precisely," the first secretary said. "And, frankly speaking, that cost large efforts. When giving the department chiefs the assignment of writing his own piece of the report, we at the secretariat advised them to make an analysis personally of their own work, of their own influence upon the department and the city and rayon committees, and their contact with people outside the walls of the obkom. But what happened? As though they had arranged it among themselves, all the chiefs brought in traditional statements about the work of the department for which they were responsible, with a list of the measures that had been carried out, the projects that had been turned over, the percentages of plan fulfillment, etc. The party self-evaluation proved to be especially difficult for the branch departments. The task was explained once again to the comrades: proceed from the fact that you are party leaders, evaluate your work as party activity. Unfortunately, even when they took this 'second pass,' so to speak, they did not get much farther away. It was only in the third version that the department administrators began somehow to sense the elements of the approach to interpreting the process of restructuring from party positions..."

And so this large collective labor by the buro and the obkom apparatus in preparing the report is typical of the work style that is developing among the new leadership. But at the same time, if one thinks carefully about it, the difficulties in preparing reports in the spirit of restructuring were caused not only and not so much by the newness of the requirements, as by the fact that the obkom apparatus continued to work on the basis of inertia along the lines of duplication and guardianship, as well as usurping the responsibilities of the economic and soviet agencies, continuing to assume the central-control functions.

Incidentally, the "economic" slant to the thought processes among the apparatus, with which the new obkom leadership collided in such a naked manner, received the unanimous censure also of the plenum participants. The fact that the evaluations "from above" and "from below" agreed leads one to the thought: this chronic ailment has set deep roots into the painstakingly nurtured soil and needs, so to speak, constructive therapy. That is the recommendation that was expressed by M. K. Rezbayev, first secretary of the party's Sibay gorkom, and that was also supported by certain other obkom members: "We secretaries of party committees in the trans-Urals zone exchanged our opinions and we deem it necessary to introduce for consideration at the 19th

All-Union Party Conference our recommendation concerning the change in the structure of the apparatus at the party committees, by reinforcing the departments of party-organizational work, propaganda and agitation, and economics, at the expense of the branch departments, and also by reinforcing the role of the branch departments of the soviet agencies. Then, obviously, the question of usurping responsibility will no longer pertain."

If one speaks about the overall atmosphere reigning at the plenum, it can be described briefly as follows: the atmosphere was purifying. The exacting analysis of the work performed by the buro members, secretaries, and obkom department chiefs was based on the comments and advice given by Communist Party members, and on judgments made by people concerning the most vital aspects, which had come from the primary party organizations and labor collectives, the raykoms and gorkoms, and which had been suggested by life itself. This kind of honest analysis of the accumulated problems and neglected areas in the report, and the sharpness and well-principled substantiation of the criticism and self-criticism, as it were, opened up the doors to the plenum participants for a frank and confidential exchange of opinions. The persons who spoke during the discussion period took as the criterion for evaluating the work performed both by the buro members and by themselves — the members of the obkom and of the aktiv — the real contribution that each had made to the acceleration of the restructuring.

Many persons emphasized one positive factor: in the work of the buro, and of the oblast party organization as a whole, one could discern the confirmation of a healthy situation of well-principled exactingness, combined with mutual trust and collective spirit, and the free exchange of opinions. For the buro, for example, it has become a rule when selecting nominees for party, soviet, and economic management jobs to ask the aktiv for its advice. That is what happened when promotions were made to positions of secretaries of the party's obkom, the first secretary of the Ufa gorkom and the chairman of the ispolkom of the city soviet, the chairman of the state agroindustrial committee, and a number of other administrators. The style of trust and advice psychologically unfetters the aktiv and gives the aktiv more confidence and independence in its judgments and actions.

At the same time the members of the oblast committee approached the evaluation of the work performed by the bureau by taking everything in account, without making any special discounts for the "youth" of its makeup and without exaggerating the importance of the first steps to improve the situation in the oblast party organization. The renewed secretariat and buro, the plenum participants said, had been born not in a completely clear place, but had largely inherited the apparatus and aktiv that had already formed, which not only had their own experience, but also their traditions which were conservative in a number of instances. Therefore the process of renovation cannot be implanted or introduced from

without. It must occur in each of us. And a reliable means for accelerating that process, as everyone knows, is criticism and self-criticism. And it must be said that there was more than an abundant amount of that salutary procedure at the plenum.

No one escaped the criticism: not the obkom secretaries, including the first secretary, not the buro members who were the administrators of the highest agency of state power and government in the autonomous republic. Moreover, the criticism was not issued in accordance with the principle of "everyone gets an equal share," in the same dosage, for pro-forma purposes. Instead, the criticism was well-substantiated and evolved from the specific instances in which the cadres had failed to carry out sufficient work or had had shortcomings. Most of the complaints pertained to the circumstance that the buro members and the department heads infrequently visited the primary organizations and labor collectives.

"Ravmer Khasanovich," A. I. Burma, first secretary of the CPSU Sterlitamak Gorkom, said, addressing Khabibullin, "I would like to advise the secretaries and the buro members: leave your offices, stop having meetings with the apparatus to deal with every situation, and go out and visit the places where life is teeming, because it is in the outlying areas that you will see how the restructuring is developing and you will understand how it can be accelerated."

Most frequently the critical statements made by the plenum participants contained a mention of the names of Yu. A. Masloboev (buro member), chief of the party-organizational work department, and U. N. Bakirov, chief of the propaganda and agitation department. What were they accused of? The party-organizational work department, the plenum participants said in their statements, was doing little to study and disseminate the experience in setting up party work, had stopped engaging in the training of cadres, and was gradually turning into a complaint department, although the checking of letters was not only its concern. The propaganda department was accused of adhering to old work methods, when the criterion is the number of measures carried out, the total number of persons "encompassed," and the fascination with outward attributes, rather than with lively agitation among the masses.

An interesting idea was expressed by Z. S. Valeyeva, leader of a brigade of painters at the Ufa Large-Panel House-Building Trust.

She said, "As I prepared for this statement at the plenum, I thought to myself, as I had many times before, 'Just what is this restructuring, anyway?' In the newspapers I encountered a very apt phrase: the search for common sense in all our affairs — that is restructuring too. Why do I say this? According to the results of the first nine months, party punishment was meted out to the trust manager and the party committee secretary and the gorkom secretary was given a warning. But nothing

changed after that. And nothing could change, for a number of reasons that we had nothing to do with. Obkom comrades, let's work according to common sense: if punishment does not yield anything, then that is not the lever that we should apply our efforts to. As a worker, I feel that the obkom buro either does not see, or pretends that it does not see, any problems, or is afraid to talk about them to all of us. Or could it be that our administrators, when you invite them to the buro to give a report, do not talk the truth about our problems, or you do not let them talk. Then invite not just the administrators, but also representatives of the worker collective, who, I think, will give you a reliable evaluation..."

That is, she talked about the need to carry out a complete study of the reasons for the shortcomings, to analyze them carefully, rather than doing what sometimes happens — making hurried conclusions, thus "putting a lid" on a problem that keeps springing up from the depths like a weed.

Thirty-nine persons registered to make statements during the discussion period. Because of inadequate time, not all of them managed to express their opinion in detail. But even those persons were nevertheless given the opportunity to express themselves. And when the vote had been made to stop the discussion, the people who had not had time to make their statements approached the microphone that had been set up in the hall and, one after the other, they stated in a concise form their specific recommendations, which also were included in the plenum minutes.

The plenum participants included M. A. Ponomarev, member of the CPSU Central Committee, and deputy chairman of the Party Control Committee under CPSU Central Committee, and A. K. Balagurov, sector chief, Party-Organizational Work Department, CPSU Central Committee.

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#### **Officials Named in Kirghiz Housing Allocation Improperities**

*18300056a Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 28 Nov 87 pp 1-2*

[Unattributed report: "In the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghiziya"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghiziya examined the matter of measures to fulfill the CPSU Central Committee Decree, "Serious Violations in Some Republics, Krays and Oblasts of the Principle of Social Fairness in the Assignment of Housing"]

The decree adopted notes that the task of accelerated solution of the housing problems urgently requires strict observance everywhere of the mandatory norms for



social fairness in organizing the registration of people who need housing, the assignment of apartments, and the decisive suppression of any violations and abuse in this matter.

However, as the CPSU Central Committee decree pointed out, soviet, economic and trade-union organs and many working collectives of the republic have in recent years slackened their work meeting requirements of housing legislation, they permit gross violations of the procedure for assigning housing, and they do not provide the necessary democratic spirit and glasnost in resolving these matters.

Numerous cases of unlawful assignment of housing have been committed in the city of Frunze. In many collectives, and also rayon ispolkoms of the city, the proper priority of citizens for obtaining housing was established without careful verification of their housing conditions, often in the absence of the necessary papers, creating the potential for various sorts of violations and the adoption of unlawful decisions. The Frunze city ispolkom assigned 85 apartments in the last two years without priority and review in the working collectives. The living space of some persons was expanded through apartments intended for needs arising from demolitions and for shareholder-enterprise needs, and through unsubstantiated reduction in the percent of assignments for construction organizations. The condemned practice of allocating new apartments with improved layout and decoration in some apartment houses built in the central part of the city to officials occupying high official posts was used widely. Often this action exceeded the established norms for living space. The family composition illegally considered nephews and nieces, grandchildren and other relatives.

The Frunze city ispolkom, according to the Administrator of Affairs of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghiziya and the republic's Council of Ministers, assigned apartments with modern conveniences to: Comrade V. P. Kochergin, professor of the Mathematics Institute of the Kirghiz SSR Academy of Sciences; Comrade M. F. Kabanov, former Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet; Comrade N. F. Miroshnichenko, KGB officer; Comrade A. S. Stamov, former Deputy Minister of Culture of the republic; Comrade T. B. Chibabayev, chairman of Kirgizpotrebsoyuz [Kirghiz SSR Union of Consumers' Societies]; Comrade I. M. Ryskulov, producer of the Dramatic Theater; and a number of others.

An inspection also uncovered gross violations of the procedure for assigning housing in the cities of Osh, Sulyukta, Kok-Yangak, Mayli-Say and Kyzyl-Kiya of Osh Oblast and a number of cities of Issyk-Kul, Talas and Naryn oblasts. Out of 700 apartments built in the city of Osh during 1985-1986, 50 were unjustifiably taken from the developers and handed over to other agencies. Some of these were assigned in an unauthorized manner. In the cities of Cholpon-Ata and

Rybachye, orders were issued which violated housing legislation and did not observe the existing procedure for exchanging apartments, and deviations from the norms for the construction of individually built housing occurred. In Talas, Kara-Kul, Przhevalsk and Naryn the social commissions that have been created operate formally, do not fulfill the requirements of housing legislation concerning the wide involvement of working collectives in monitoring establishment of priorities and the assignment of housing, and the required glasnost is absent.

In 10 rayons of Osh Oblast and in five of Talas Oblast, the posting for public viewing of lists of citizens who have been accepted for registration or who have obtained new apartments is not being practiced. At most of the enterprises that were checked and in many organizations of the cities of Talas, Cholpon-Ata and Naryn, an elementary record of those who are in need of housing is lacking. Many city and rayon ispolkoms of the republic are not performing the mandatory reregistration of those on the waiting list. About 40 percent of Przhevalsk's enterprises could not at the start of 1987 present to the city ispolkom refined data on the number of persons who comprised the lists of those in need of housing.

Because of the lack of proper attention to solution of the housing problem in the cities, the number of those on the waiting list to receive new housing is practically not being reduced. Housing problems are especially severe in the collectives of some enterprises of machinebuilding, light industry, the foodstuffs industry, education, public health, trade and domestic affairs. A large number of disabled veterans and workers, invalids, families with many children and families that are living in temporary and decrepit housing are on the list for obtaining apartments. On 1 July of this year, throughout the republic, 126,000 families, including 15,000 families of those disabled by the Great Patriotic War and international wars, and families of deceased soldiers and officers and others, who enjoy preference, were on lists for improvement of housing conditions. In the city of Frunze 24 percent and in Osh Oblast 20 percent of such families had been on the list for more than five years.

Cases of gross violations of housing legislation undermine the principle of social fairness and provoke justified complaints and reproaches by workers. The Kirghiz SSR Trade-Union Council and branch-of-industry trade-union committees of the republic, it is further noted in the decree, have not managed to overcome the apathy and irresponsibility of trade-union organizations in suppressing any violations in the establishment of priorities and in the granting of housing, so that all problems associated with its assignment will be decided on the basis of democracy and glasnost.

The Kirghiz SSR People's Control Committee is not providing systematic, active monitoring over observance of the principle of social fairness and glasnost in distributing housing. Its local organizations do not question party organizations strictly on the suppression of cases of housing legislation violations.

Prosecuting organs do not exercise proper surveillance over the unconditional fulfillment of housing-legislation requirements by ispolkoms of soviets of people deputies and by trade unions and do not show proper persistence in eliminating violations that have been discovered.

The Council of Ministers' Presidium approached without sufficient adherence to principle their evaluation of the actions of Administration of Affairs workers comrades Akulnov and Comrade Lindeman, who displayed a superficial, irresponsible approach in preparing papers addressed to supervisors of ministries and agencies that are provided housing space in accordance with the standards, about improvement of their housing conditions, and did not require that they correct violations of housing legislation that had been committed. The ispolkoms of soviets of peoples deputies are not showing due persistence in putting questions to the appropriate organs about the acknowledgement of invalid orders that were issued with gross deviations from the law. Suits brought by Frunze city prosecutors are examined for a long time, and implementation of the decisions adopted in accordance with them is delayed because of ill-timed allocation by the ispolkoms of housing for interapartment transfer in accordance with the norms. Problems also of interapartment transfers by persons who have given notice about voluntary exchange of apartments obtained unjustifiably are not being resolved.

Party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, the decree emphasizes, still do not provide for the requisite monitoring over observance of the principle of social fairness in distributing housing, do not make a timely evaluation, based on principle, of cases of gross violations of housing legislation, are weak at increasing the responsibility of the supervisors of local soviets for fulfilling the party's decrees on providing each family prior to the year 2000 a separate apartment or house, for the timely submission of papers about illegal allocation of apartments to law-enforcement organs, and for putting this business in proper order. Primary party organizations are not exercising strict monitoring over the work of trade-union committees and enterprise administration on precise observance of the rules for assigning apartments, and are not decisively suppressing violations and abuses in this matter.

The decree points out that primary party organizations of the republic's Council of Ministers' staff, the Kirghiz SSR State Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting, the Mathematics Institute of the Kirghiz SSR Academy of Sciences, the Kirghiz Scientific-Research Institute of Cardiology, and the Kirghiz SSR Committee for State Security have not given an evaluation based on principle of the actions of officials who permit unscrupulousness and a superficial approach to the preparation of papers on the declaration of supervisory workers about the allocation of housing to them, and who also show indiscretion in the solution of their housing questions. It was noted that the Secretary of the Central

Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghiziya did not properly monitor the assignment of housing to staff workers and supervisors of ministries and agencies and other officials.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghiziya has resolved to adopt for guidance and unwavering execution the CPSU Central Committee decree, "Serious Violations in a Number of Republics, Krays and Oblasts of the Principle of Social Fairness in the Distribution of Housing."

It is proposed that party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations review questions of accelerating solution of the housing problem as a task of special political importance. They must provide effective and objective monitoring over the work of the ispolkoms of local soviets of people's deputies in regard to strict observance of the requirements of housing legislation that concern the assignment of newly constructed housing and of apartments that are being released.

Serious violations of the principles of social fairness in distributing housing and in the procedure for registering citizens who need housing were pointed out to the Ispolkoms of Osh, Talas, Issyk-Kul and Naryn oblasts and to the Frunze, Tokmak, Rybachye and Cholpon-Ata city soviets of people's deputies. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghiziya required that the chairman of the ispolkoms of oblast and city soviets of people's deputies, primarily Comrades N. M. Chepelev, V. D. Boykov, R. M. Beyshembayev, E. Aliyev, S. T. Iskakov, K. A. Lofink, S. Abykeyeva and R. T. Gorin, impose as quickly as possible strict order in the registering for and assignment of housing, stimulate the work on elimination of violations of legislation that have occurred in assigning apartments, and bring those guilty of this to strict accountability.

It was adopted for information that party committees of the city of Frunze had announced that reproofs were given to the chairman and deputy chairman of the city ispolkom, comrades S. T. Iskakov and V. P. Bukreyev, to former duty chairman of the Pervomayskiy Rayon ispolkom Comrade R. M. Dzhanybayeva and to city prosecutor Comrade V. K. Kalanchin and reproofs that are to be recorded on the membership card were given to former deputy chairman of the city ispolkom Comrade M. E. Esenamanov and chief of the department for assigning and exchanging housing space, Comrade Ye. A. Danilin, for violating the social-fairness principle in assigning housing. Supervision of the department has been rejuvenated.

Osh Oblast party organizations, after examining the facts of the grossest violations, announced strict reprimands that are to be recorded on the membership card for the chairman and deputy chairman of the Osh City ispolkom, comrades V. F. Kalinin and K. T. Aaliyev (they were relieved of these posts), a strict reprimand for

chairman of the Kok- Yangak city ispolkom, Comrade V. A. Yeremkin, and a reprimand for chairman of the Mayli-Say city ispolkom, Comrade Sh. M. Sydykov. The buro of the Issyk-Kul party raykom announced a severe reprimand that is to be recorded on the membership card for deputy chairman of the Cholpon-Ata city ispolkom Comrade R. D. Bakhtiyarov, and he was relieved of the post he occupied.

The Presidium of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers announced a reprimand for Frunze city ispolkom chairman Comrade S. T. Iskakov and a severe reprimand for Oktyabrskiy Rayon ispolkom chairman Comrade A. K. Nanayev for serious violations of housing legislation that had been committed, for poor monitoring of the quality of construction of housing and for accepting the housing for operation with deficiencies. The Talas Oblast ispolkom imposed a punishment on Talas city ispolkom chairman Comrade I. I. Masantov, and it relieved deputy chairman of the Talasskiy Rayon ispolkom Comrade T. Dzholdoshev of his position. For these and other violations, former Administrator of Affairs of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghiziya I. I. Korneyev was expelled from the ranks of the CPSU.

Primary party organizations discussed and and punished communist comrades V. M. Kabanov and A. S. Stamov for committing violations.

The fact that administrations of affairs of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghiziya and the republic's Council of Ministers had performed the procedure for granting staff workers living space in accordance with housing legislation, that the previously existing practice of preparing documents for obtaining apartments, bypassing soviet organs, has been eliminated, and that comrades Chilebayev, Kabanov, and Mir-rakhimov were taking steps to reduce the living space occupied by them in accordance with the established norm, was adopted for information.

The primary party organizations of the republic Council of Ministers staff, the Kirghiz SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, the Mathematics Institute of the Kirghiz SSR Academy of Sciences, the Kirghiz Scientific-Research Institute for Cardiology, and the Kirghiz SSR Committee for State Security were entrusted with giving a party evaluation to the actions of communists for violations they had committed and for showing indiscretion in resolving problems of improving their living conditions.

It was proposed that oblast, city and rayon party committees take active measures to impose order in the reporting, distribution and use of living space and review and evaluate each case of unlawful assignment or receipt of housing and call the guilty to strict party responsibility. The republic's Council of Ministers and the Frunze city ispolkom were charged with establishing the strictest

monitoring over observance of legality and substantiation of the assignment to supervisory workers, regardless of agency subordination, of housing space in apartment houses built in the center of the city.

It was proposed that the republic's Council of Ministers, ispolkoms of soviets of people's deputies, the Kirghiz SSR Trade Union Council and trade-union committees, and economic organs provide everywhere for wide glasnost and the active participation of working collectives and social organizations in solving housing problems, as a mandatory prerequisite for the democratic solution of this most important social task. Insure strict observance of the requirements for public posting of lists of registrants for obtaining apartments in the ispolkoms of councils of people's deputies, and at enterprises, institutions and organizations.

The prosecutor of the Kirghiz SSR is obliged to intensify surveillance over observance within the republic of the state procedure for assigning housing and of the validity of the decisions made in the courts in these categories of affairs, and to bring to strict accountability officials who deviate from housing legislation. It was recommended that the Kirghiz SSR People's Control Committee maintain constant monitoring over progress in solving the housing problem and over strict observance of the principle of social fairness in assigning housing.

The Council of Ministers, the ispolkoms of local soviets of people's deputies, economic supervisors, and trade-union organs must insure unconditional realization of the rights of the disabled of the Great Patriotic War and of international wars and of the families of servicemen killed to first priority in improvement of housing conditions.

It is proposed that the editorial boards of the newspapers *Sovetskaya Kirgiziya* and *Sovetskaya Kirgiziya* and radio and television constantly publicize matters of the struggle with violations of the principle of social fairness in assigning housing.

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#### **Financial, Bookkeeping Irregularities in Armenian State Organs**

18300056b Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian 1 Dec 87 pp 1-2

[Armenpress report: "In the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Excerpts] Audits made by Armenian SSR State Committee for Statistics, the Ministry of Finance, and the republic's offices of USSR Gosbank and Stroybank have established that serious violations of accounting discipline, cases of misrepresentations, inflated reports and eyewash continue to occur in the republic. Various ministries and agencies have not taken the necessary



steps to impose strict order in accounting and reporting and full assurance of fulfillment of the requirements of Armenian SSR government decrees.

Reporting discipline has not been improved at some enterprises of the USSR ministries of automotive industry; machine tool and toolmaking industry; and instrumentmaking, means of automation and control systems; and at the Yerevan city soviet ispolkom, the Ministry of Construction Materials Industry, Gosagroprom, and so on.

Cases of inflation of the amounts of construction-overhaul work performed, which caused the state substantial material harm, were found in construction organizations of the Yerevan city soviet's ispolkom.

The existing procedure for accepting completed construction jobs for operation is violated frequently. Cases of exaggerating the amounts of work done were discovered at Gosagroprom, the Armenian SSR Main Administration for Construction of Water-Resources Facilities, and Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water-Resources Management jobs were discovered.

A decree adopted by the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers called the attention of supervisors of Gosagroprom, the ministries of light industry, construction and trade, Gossnab, and the Yerevan city soviet's ispolkom to the fact that they had not drawn the appropriate conclusions from the proviso on the intolerability of inflated reports, eyewash and the presentation of unlawful reporting. They were forewarned that severe punishment will be adopted against them if there is further repetition of such cases.

It was proposed that ministries, agencies, and enterprises and organizations of Union subordination that are located within the republic take additional measures for radical improvement of reporting discipline, for putting order into accounting, and for the presentation of authentic statistical and accounting reports. Measures are to be taken to prevent cases of inflated reporting and eyewash.

The State Committee on Statistics, the Ministry of Finances and the republic's banks are obligated to intensify coordinated actions in the struggle against inflated and distorted reports. They are to establish order and periodicity in making inspections and to provide for their comprehensiveness, to take additional measures to raise the quality and validity of inspection reports about cases of inflated and distorted reporting, which are presented to law-enforcement organs, and to be more prompt in examining them. They are to exclude from statistical reporting incomplete or poor-quality work done on the part of either clients or contractors at facilities turned over for operation, and they are to bring the guilty persons to strict account, including referral of the matter to a prosecutor.

The law-enforcement organs should review in timely fashion the papers and evidence of inflated and distorted state reporting and intensify work on the prevention, discovery and timely suppression of these crimes.

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#### **Lvov Obkom First Secretary on Oblast Restructuring**

*18110027 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian  
17 Oct 87 p 2*

[Interview by V. Sirobaba: "Obkom Is Restructuring Work," under the rubric "A Relevant Dialogue."]

[Text] In March of 1987, after discussing the goals developed from the CPSU Central Committee departmental memo which was written as a response to letters which arrived from Lvov Oblast, and related resolutions of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, the Plenum of the Lvov Party Obkom has strongly condemned the following: improper working style of the past obkom leadership; disregard for principles in the recruitment and training of new members; and lack of critical assessment of the oblast state of affairs. It was then that the leadership of the oblast party organization became strengthened.

In order to inform our readers how the obkom is restructuring its work, the editors turned to the newly elected first secretary of the partyobkom, Comrade Ya.P. Pohrebniak, candidate member of the Ukrainian CP CC Politburo.

[Question] More than half a year has passed since the plenum of the party obkom. What was achieved during that time in terms of restructuring?

[Answer] It is not an exaggeration—Ya.P. Pohrebniak said—that the mentioned plenum has a most important and fundamental meaning for the oblast party organization. It represented a painful, albeit a necessary lesson. Obkom members and local party organizations have accepted the critical assessments made by the CPSU Central Committee and the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, and taken priority actions to liquidate shortcomings and overcome obstacles in order to speed up economic and social development. For the communists of the city and village and service sector, an important specific goal was placed: at each working collective create a highly organized and efficient atmosphere, allow no tolerance of shortcomings, secure realistic project evaluations, and, based on that, achieve a breakthrough in the leading areas, that is in the economic, social, and intellectual development.

Immediately after the plenum, the party obkom designated 15 most important socioeconomic issues in the development of the oblast, worked out complex programs for solving them, and assigned obkom buro and leaders of the oblispolkom (oblast executive committee)

to carry them out. The obkom first secretary in particular took upon himself the responsibility for the complex socioeconomic development of the oblast; the head of the oblispolkom, M.I. Kyrey, was personally charged with the responsibility for supplying the workers with food; the second secretary, V.A. Svyatotsky, is to solve the housing problem by providing each family either with a separate apartment or house; deputy head of the oblispolkom, V.I. Shulipa is responsible for the water supply to Lvov, Drohobych, Stryy, Chervonohrad, Truskavtsi, Morshyn, and Sambir; D.A. Yaremchuk, the obkom secretary, is to deal with the school system and occupational, health and children's institutions, as well as clubs and palaces of culture.... In other words, all the complex programs are headed by responsible comrades; workers of the oblast know this, and by observing whether there is any improvement, they can judge the work of each person responsible for a given job. The party obkom has set up an on-going process of informing the people about the state of each program.

It is our aim to renounce bureaucratic style and only to be directly and deeply immersed in the work locally. With this in mind, discussions were held with the leadership of all cities and rayons of the oblast; from the obkom apparatus 11 working groups were formed, headed by secretaries and section heads. During a certain length of time they are to study locally the style of work of a given party committee, local working cadres, as well as their ability to work under the new conditions. It is well known, that the main criterion for evaluating the working cadres today, is their attitude towards restructuring their desire to discard all the old stereotypes, and support everything that is new and contemporary. The work that was already performed allowed analysis of the degree of restructuring taking place locally, to determine the main goals and labor force available for carrying out resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, of the party plenums of the central committee, and to place in front of each party committee concrete and demanding goals in reference to the development of the economy, social sphere, and political activity among the masses. At the same time serious shortcomings were found in the work of many in the leadership: tendency towards a bureaucratic and pressing style, poor usage of economic methods of administration, and inability to work with people. We take all this into consideration when working with cadre policy. Recently we strengthened the leadership of numerous raykom, city party committees, and obkom departments. We do not compromise with those who violate the CPSU statute, party ethics, allow misuse, and are uncritical of their own activity. Just recently, H.M. Pyzhyk, member of the obkom party buro, was removed from the post of head of oblprofrada (oblast labor union council) and charged with the following: serious shortcomings in carrying out his work, allowing the misuse of financial-administrative activity, and losing his moral prerogative to lead an oblast labor union organization.

While making decisions in reference to cadres, democratic principles are continually being widened; at working collectives, party, and soviet sections, as well as civic

organizations, candidates for future leaders are being widely discussed, and then elected, not simply designated as was done previously. Women and young people are being proposed for these posts more often now. However, in terms of personnel, the new approach is slow to take root, and is done with caution.

Nevertheless, certain results of restructuring in the work of the party are already visible. Lately there is more objectivity, more glasnost, and openness during discussions at plenums, and at meetings of the buro and secretariat of the party obkom, city committees, and raykoms; showiness is not tolerated now, while the true state of events is being more critically evaluated. Progressive experience in the field is sought, and not only from our oblast, but from beyond the oblast as well. In particular, at the Shevchenko party raykom in Lvov, we are carrying out an experiment which would make the structure of party committees relative to the new economic conditions, as it has already been done in party committees in Moscow.

I would like to stress this especially: one of the main results of our work is the active and concrete support of our efforts by communists and a wide spectrum of the population. This has been demonstrated by reports as well as by the elections in party groups and primary party organizations. One could summarize the demands made of the obkom by communists at the meeting, as follows: act more assertively, determinedly, and most of all—get things done. And this is what we are aiming at. Although gradually, but increasingly, the authority of local party committees is growing among the workers. We do sense this. For example, this year the flow of letters, demands and complaints from our oblast to the CPSU Central Committee has been cut by half. Instead, there are more letters coming now to the obkom and local party committees. Twice as many people as last year have appealed with problems to the party obkom. People turn to us with various issues, for advice or support, and with specific suggestions, on how to increase production and services and further cultural growth. We are trying to give each letter, suggestion, or criticism our utmost attention. Obviously, we cannot take care of everything immediately. But we are trying to do that which is in our power. And we are honestly telling the people that.

[Question] How does the restructuring of party organizational activity influence the socioeconomic growth of the oblast?

[Answer] Obviously, there is such an influence. And it is a positive one. Let us look at statistics. Production has reached its annual level. During 9 months its actual growth is at 7.9 percent. Work productivity has grown by 7.4 percent. Based on this, we have 94.9 percent of production increase. Production has exceeded the plan alone by 77 million roubles. Compared to the same period of time last year, the quality of the higher grade

products was increased by 21.8 percent. We are achieving the goal of lowering the price of production of products and consumer goods.

Village workers have achieved great harvest. Each hectare has produced 35.8 quintals of grain. All rayons have overfulfilled the plan for supplying grain to the state. The most noticeable success has been achieved by farmers of the Brody, Radekhiv, Kamyansko-Buzky and Zolochiv rayons. Animal husbandry is fulfilling the plans. Meat supply has grown by 11.8 percent, milk by 4.9, eggs by 2.0, and wool by 5.3 percent.

Construction and transport workers are also increasing their productivity.

However, it does not mean that everything is perfect. Numerous economic sectors have not shown any obvious improvements, stagnation is being fought slowly, while there are occurrences of conservatism, poor management, and irresponsibility. And, as a result, the oblast as a whole, with 16 cities and rayons, and with 43 industries has not kept up with production contracts.

Working collectives of 39 of our industrial enterprises have already changed over to full enterprise contracting and self-financing. The following collectives are working according to the new conditions: "Konveyer" (V.M. Volohzhyn, director, and B.M. Smyrnov, party committee secretary), "Biofizpylad" (V.H. Shyrokov and L.B. Kozlov), automotive plant spare parts (V.M. Krushevsky and Z.V. Kohut), and others. The workers and specialists have shown a noted interest in the final product, in fulfilling plans, and increasing the quality of production. However, all in all, this progressive form of enterprise is far from the desired level. The collective contract brigade is being introduced too slowly; so far it includes only 2.5 percent of industrial workers.

Serious problems remain in the agro-industrial complex, in construction, and in the social sphere.

[Question] What is this state of affairs due to? What is slowing down the restructuring?

[Answer] I think that there are several reasons for this. First of all, far too many problems had accumulated, more than one could expect. To solve them takes a lot of effort, human and material resources as well as time. Secondly, a certain portion of workers is still exhibiting complacency, lack of self-criticism, poor mastery of new methods of enterprise management, and keeps working in the old manner. Thirdly, many party committees are very slow in restructuring themselves, do not show the necessary initiative in reference to propaganda and reliance on experience which has been acquired in our republic and the country as a whole. And finally and fourthly, our organizational work is not sufficient.

This is how we look at all such and other negative aspects: life provides us not only with problems, but also with the necessary means for solving them. One should only make use of them wisely.

What are we doing in this respect?

Just recently, at a meeting of the oblast party-enterprise activists, the state of affairs in each sector of the economy was thoroughly and critically analyzed; it was determined who would do what and where, so that the plan for this year and for the five-year plan would be definitely fulfilled.

In order to fulfill the goals of the Food Program, at the end of the five-year plan we aim to reach the following yields per each hectare: 37-38 quintals of grain, 180-190 quintals of potatoes, 200 quintals of vegetables, and 35-40 quintals of sugar. Based on the sharp increase of milk production per cow, by the end of the five-year plan, the average daily increase in cows and pigs should produce milk increases by 16 percent, and meat by 20 percent, in comparison to the 1986 production. We can see in what manner and which labor force should be used in fulfilling the plan. It is to be done by means of a planned increase of soil productivity, introduction of industrial technologies, and new forms of enterprise. We planned to achieve a breakthrough urgently, especially in applying collective, lease, and family contracts, and already in the current and in the following year to switch all collective and state farms to these organized forms of labor, first of all at the Skolivskyy and Turkivskyy rayons, and also the enterprises that are in the Carpathian zone, and Drobohobytskyy and Staro-Sambirskyy rayons. We are transferring to family contracting small farms for pig, fowl, and sheep raising, as well as vegetable production; we are also concerned with strengthening the secondary enterprises of production, as well as privately owned feed.

Similarly, urgent strategic goals and means for achieving them have been determined for the industry. Already this year we are aiming to achieve 55 percent of specific weight of certifiable higher grade production. The increase of industrial production, due to the rise of work productivity, is to reach 95-97 percent, in comparison to 83.6 percent in 1986. Here, too, we rely on the wide introduction of new systems of enterprises, now progressive forms of organizations and work incentives.

I would like to stress this: each program, developed by the party obkom for accelerating social and economic growth, has three deadlines: the 70th anniversary of the Great October; the 50th anniversary of the unification of western Ukrainian lands into one Ukrainian Soviet state within the USSR; and the end of the 12th Five-Year Plan. Party organizations of workers collectives, while restructuring their work, aim their socialist competition so that they would unfailingly meet the deadlines.

[Question] There was a time when the Lvov system of management led the whole country in the quality of production. Is it so today?

[Answer] I have already dealt with the qualitative indicators of work of our working collectives, and with the goals of raising the production of higher quality to 55 percent. As to the system itself, it is still in existence and continues to be used. The problem lies in the fact that after the system was given such wide attention all over the whole country, and was accepted by the higher-ups, the local party Soviet and enterprise leaders, while exulting in its glory slowly started to forget it.... It has gone so far that at several enterprises and associations they have simply dropped the system, especially at the Avtonavantazhuvach automatic loading associations, the Lvov Noodle Factory, the Boryslav Factory of Non-Woven Fabrics, as well as at others. The party obkom did not notice this. So, while in other oblasts the Lvov system was being introduced, improved, and developed, and was achieving important results—last year the Lvovians did not even achieve the planned goals for production of the higher quality products. For this the oblast was justifiably criticized by the CPSU Central Committee and the Ukrainian CP Central Committee.

Now things are improving. The complex management system produces quality work today at 452 industrial enterprises, and 138 working collectives have perfected it.

The introduction of state acceptance has become a new stimulus for raising the quality of production. It demonstrates its effectiveness in practice. Today, in our oblast 10 enterprises, among them the association "Elektron," "Kineskop," and a diamond instrument shop, submit 90 percent of their products without needing quality control reevaluation (by an initial "predyavlennya"). By using their example we are teaching other collectives how they should work in the new environment.

[Question] Recently the newspaper RADYANSKA UKRAYINA has had two critical articles about serious shortcomings in the party work of the Lvov-Volyn coal basin, especially at the Chervonohrad mines. They did not pay much attention to strengthening discipline and did not work hard enough to fight alcoholism. How do you see the state of affairs in the basin?

[Answer] It is true that negative occurrences and lack of progress have taken place also at Chervonohrad. Our obkom is taking decisive measures to correct this situation. We have strengthened the leadership of the city party committee and the city executive committee, as well as numerous industrial enterprises; we are providing aid to primary party organizations for restructuring their activity in accordance to the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 27th Ukrainian CP Congress, and central committee plenums.

The elimination of shortcomings, about which your newspaper has also written, has become specific and systematic. Greater demands are made of party members to carry out the statutes of the CPSU. By setting up as example the drillers at the coalmines and other enterprises, the collective guarantee of working and civic disciplines is spreading.

As is known, serious shortcomings have been revealed in Chervonohrad in the ideological and moral education of employees of the local internal affairs officials; instead of fighting the lawbreakers they themselves have abused the law, endeavored to cloak shortcomings, and aimed at all costs not to appear "worse than others." For this the following were fired and given a serious party reprimand: S.T. Stanko, former director of the city department of internal affairs; M.P. Bulakh, former head of inspection for minors, as well as others. Thirteen extra communists were sent to work in the law enforcement section.

The coal basin miners support efforts of the party and soviet leaders of restructuring and the establishment of the necessary order and discipline. Already we have some practical and positive developments. At the beginning of the year, 345,000 tons of fuel exceeded the planned output, and the productivity of miners rose by 5.5 percent.

Obviously, all of this does not mean that the problems in Chervonohrad are already completely under control. At the last plenum of the party obkom, the Chervonohrad city committee was listed among those that are lagging behind in terms of restructuring. The city party committee still needs to do a lot, especially in terms of reinforcing economic methods of management, carrying out the complex "Vuhillya" (coal) program, and also in the development of the social sphere. In the basin area, the supply of housing for the workers is much too slow; at the coal mining enterprises alone, the waiting list for housing has over 4,500 names. Almost 2,000 of the miners' children still do not have room in preschool institutions. At the last plenum of the party city committee, which I attended, the above shortcomings and others were critically discussed. The party obkom closely follows the activities of the city party organizations and provides it with specific aid.

[Question] You have just mentioned problems of a social nature that you are trying to solve in the coal mining basin. Just how do these matters look in the oblast as a whole? What is being done to improve the life of the people?

[Answer] I would like to stress that to the party obkom the social sphere of life is almost the most important element in today's stage of restructuring. At the beginning of our discussion I noted that the obkom buro has listed 15 most important socioeconomic issues, and that we are working to solve them. Eleven of these issues essentially concern the social sphere, since they deal with



the need to satisfy daily needs of workers. Besides those that we have already discussed there are also the following: production of consumer goods, organization of trade and consumer services, urban improvement of cities and villages, preservation of historical monuments and culture, and others.

The most complex social problem is housing. Today there are 127,000 families on a waiting list, of those 83,000 families are in Lvov. This gross disproportion is the result of poor planning in areas adjacent to industrial enterprises in the city, as well as the so-called economizing on account of the social needs. Due to this the waiting list increased from year to year. We are taking numerous measures to correct this situation. At the beginning of the year more than 430,000 square meters of living space have been constructed; this represents 44.7 percent more than by the same time last year. We are greatly profiting by the experience of the Ulyanovsk Oblast and the Kazakh SSR, expanding construction in an economic manner and expanding both cooperative as well as private construction with the inclusion of private financing; during the current five-year plan we are planning to increase housing availability by 20 percent. In order to guarantee the supply of construction materials, we have introduced a continuous four-shift system at the oblast brick factories.

Significant work has been done to provide cities and villages in the oblast with drinking water. Water remains a painful problem. We can perceive the help of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee and the government of the republic in solving this problem, as our plans specify that by 1991-92 this problem is to be completely eliminated. We are hoping to get support from the UkSSR State Planning Committee and the Republic Minkomungosp [Ministry of Communal Enterprises].

In August the obkom buro approved a resolution on "Steps for Improving Transport Services for the Lvov Population." In reply to a letter from the UkSSR Supreme Soviet, the population of the oblast has started to take care of beautification of cities and villages and to improve parks, squares, streets, and courtyards. Great projects are planned for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the reunification of western Ukrainian lands with the Soviet Ukraine. We plan to have a kindergarten in each enterprise and to end the two-shift school session by the end of the five-year plan; we also intend to bring to fruition plans for sports complexes at each rayon center and each city, such as those built at Busk and Mykolayiv.

In other words, we have planned certain improvements, we have a specific plan of action, and now we need to get the people interested, to get the whole community involved in the restructuring of the social sphere.

[Question] How do the party organizations and workers of the oblast prepare to meet the 70th anniversary of the Great October?

[Answer] We intend to use preparations for the great celebration as an important impetus to bringing about contemporary revolutionary restructuring and accelerating social and economic development. As a reaction to the Appeal from the CPSU Central Committee, workers collectives at 80 enterprises, 1,590 production sections, and 26,000 workers have promised to fulfill two-years work of the five-year plan by the time of the October celebration. The volunteer October workers (honor guard) is headed by communists and Komsomol youth. Among the first to have completed their socialist obligations for the jubilee were the workers collectives of construction administration No 137, of the "Tsen-trostalkonstruksiya" [Central Steel Construction], with A.H. Horodechnyy serving as manager of the administration, and A.P. Voropayev, secretary of the party organization; also miners of the "50-richyia Velykoyi Zhovtnevoyi Socialistychnoyi" [Fiftieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution Mine] (with I.M. Hutiy, director, and O.F. Olefirenko, secretary of the partkom). The following have already started working on fulfilling the third year of the five-year plan: excavation workers of The Hero of Socialist Labor M.O. Nakonechnyy's brigade, of the Rozdolssky production association "Sirka"; leaders of the Representative of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet, V.M. Trubitsyna's brigade of the Velykomostivska No 5 Mine; electrical welders from the brigade of Ya.V. Vezdenkko, representative of the rayon soviet of peoples deputies, from the production association "Avtonavantazhuvach" (automatic-loading); cow milking machine operator and party member N.H. Vanyo, of the state farm Mykolayivskyy, of the Pustomyitsky Rayon; and V.I. Hryhorenko, member of the Sambir city party committee, as well as many others.

On the eve of the celebrations, party organizations are carrying out complex ideological work by propagating organic ties of the great accomplishments of the October Revolution with the revolutionary transformations of today. Joining forces in this are veteran members of the party and Komsomol, participants of the struggle to set up Soviet rule in western Ukrainian lands, and leading workers and innovators in the field of production. In city and village workers' collectives and educational institutions there are social and political readings dealing with the October, and special thematic evening programs dedicated to the 70th October anniversary. Party organizations started contacts with comrades of the Ulyanovsk Oblast, Rostov-on-Don, and other oblasts, cities, and rayons of the fraternal republics, as well as with the sister-enterprises of Rzeshev and Premysl counties in Poland, and the Baran Oblast in Hungary.

The creative intelligentsia of the oblast has dedicated to the anniversary of the revolution a special artistic program "The Golden Autumn of Lvov," as well as many other programs for large audiences.

In conclusion, I would like to stress again: the party obkom, by restructuring its work, is directing today the efforts of communists and all workers at their place of

employment—in enterprises and factories, in the fields and farms, in educational institutions, or establishments of culture and services in an attempt to reach a marked improvement. It is most important not to lose any time, to be always working, and insistently carry out plans and ideas by turning them into energy for specific actions. This will guarantee the best preparation to the 70th anniversary of the October.

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**Kazakhstan's Political Education Work  
Progressing Slowly**

1830077a Moscow *POLITICHESKOYE  
OBRAZOVANIYE* in Russian No 11, Nov 87  
pp 113-117

[Article by K. Sultanov, secretary, Karaganda Oblast Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party: "Scientific-Practical Conference in Kazakhstan: Not Waiting, Acting More Boldly"; first two paragraphs are *POLITICHESKOYE OBRAZOVANIYE* introduction]

[Text] Over 300,000 laborers of our oblast have taken part in the discussion of the CPSU Central Committee's plan of the basic directions for restructuring the system of political and economic education. Many proposals directed at raising the role of Marxist-Leninist education in the life of party organizations and labor collectives were submitted at party, trade union, Komsomol and worker meetings, during lessons at political schools, and at propaganda seminars and conferences. It seemed now that we could rely on the initiative of the people and begin searching everywhere for new, nonstandard approaches to education having the purpose of teaching every communist and every laborer how to think and act with political maturity, and how to work and manage competently in the conditions created by fundamental restructuring of the economy's management and expansion of democracy. But practical implementation of the measures planned by the party and action upon many viable proposals submitted in the course of the discussion of the CPSU Central Committee's plan are not proceeding as boldly and decisively as our times require. What is the reason for this?

They are right when they say that the propagandist is the central figure in the system of Marxist-Leninist education. There are also full grounds for referring to him as the main actor in this system's restructuring. However, staying with the same terminology, we would have to recognize that the organizers of political and economic education, the party workers, must serve as the directors. But unfortunately they are the ones who turn out to be the most conservative and indecisive. Many simply are afraid to take responsibility and show initiative, and they do everything they can to protect themselves. What is most disappointing is that as a rule these workers know their business well and possess considerable experience: They hold the winning cards, so to speak. The sad thing is that over the years, if not decades, the organizers of

political and economic education have become accustomed to receiving instructions "from above" concerning all issues, even the minor ones. And now that the possibility for showing independence exists, many comrades are psychologically unprepared for this.

Take as an example the directors of political education offices. Understandably, very much depends on them today. Most of these comrades possess sufficient theoretical training, they are competent in the methods of party propaganda, they have a good knowledge of the problems of Marxist-Leninist education, and they are always able to state interesting thoughts and proposals in conversation. But they cannot resolve to insist upon what they know is right, to attempt a bold experiment. And we, the party committee secretaries, far from always support the training organizers, we communicate with them little, and sometimes we do not know what troubles them and what help they require.

Thus we need to begin restructuring Marxist-Leninist education with ourselves—the workers of the party committees. Otherwise we would not be able to solve a single serious problem. And very many problems are rising before us in this training year. The Secretariat of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee adopted a decree several months ago on the work of the Karaganda city party organization, in which it was noted in particular that the structure of political and economic education does not correspond to the unique features of production or to the nature of the work of mining collectives and of construction and transport organizations. The decree also discussed the low level of the training process in a number of political schools and seminars, and the inadequate attention devoted to training by executives who are studying independently on the basis of individual plans.

We have to make sure that Marxist-Leninist education would become a real organic part of all party-political work in every party organization and in every labor collective. Specific tasks must be posed to propagandists and students of political schools and seminars each year, so that the people could clearly see the goal of their studies, and strive to acquire the knowledge they need in their daily practical activities.

Thus the party committee of the Karaganda Metallurgical Combine instructed propagandists and students of political schools and seminars to provide ideological support to the "Intensification-90" program drawn up by the enterprise. Special lessons in the political and economic training system were devoted to the basic principles of this program. And then communists and active party nonmembers carried out a practical socio-political assignment that required them to conduct discussions with comrades at work and to describe the plans of the collective for reequipping the production operations and raising product quality. Emphasis was centered on issues and problems requiring creative thought and a

collective search for the best solutions. The party committee organized a contest for the best proposals. A certain system for generalizing and implementing proposals from students of political schools and seminars was developed in each of the combine's 113 primary party organizations. Not only propagandists but also administrative executives and party bureau secretaries and members are now responsible for this. Just last year over 2,000 proposals from students were introduced at the enterprise with an economic impact exceeding 2 million rubles. The combine's collective is now having to solve many serious problems, and the party committee intends to keep relying widely on propagandists and to make fuller use of the possibilities of political and economic education.

A number of other party organizations in the oblast also possess positive experience attesting to the first steps in restructuring political and economic education. But it must be admitted that this experience is being disseminated extremely slowly. Some party workers and propagandists are reluctant to acquaint themselves with "foreign" experience, and they do not want to learn from it. It is noted validly in this regard that every labor collective has its own unique features and has to solve its own problems, and therefore far from everything in the experience of other collectives is useful. But we are not talking about mechanically carrying over or borrowing practices that have recommended themselves in other collectives. Do things differently, seek your own ways to raise the effectiveness of training, but keep on searching! It is this desire to keep on searching that many party workers and propagandists do not display as they wait for coaching from above. Is it at all possible to achieve restructuring in education with such an approach?

Here is one other example. One of the key problems today in rural areas is introduction of cost accounting. Leninskiy Sovkhoz in Telmanskiy Rayon found itself facing this problem as well. It was revealed that many workers, including executives of various subdivisions, have an extremely fuzzy idea about the essence of cost accounting, its forms and the methods of its practical application. The party committee turned to propagandists for assistance. The latter organized comprehensive courses laying their main emphasis on studying cost accounting for all of the sovkhos's laborers. The propagandists did so at their own risk (there was no similar experience in the rayon to rely on). The program foresaw acquainting the laborers with the principles of socialist economics on the basis of Lenin's works written prior to the revolution, with the proceedings of the 27th CPSU Congress and other highly important party documents, and with specific experiences. Political, economic and production education were combined into a single course of study in the comprehensive courses. The objective the students were to seek was to develop optimum forms of cost accounting in each production section. They managed to do so as a result of collective effort. In particular, they introduced a checking system

for settling mutual accounts among the sovkhos's subdivisions. The farm is now among the leaders. But it is no less important that the people became persuaded as to the need for improving their theoretical and political outlook and their economic competency, and as to the practical value of Marxist-Leninist education.

But I could also cite many more examples of a different kind, where administrative executives, party committees and propagandists are working separately, where they are unable to combine their efforts to reach the specific objectives of acceleration. While the Karagandaul Association surpassed the product sales plan for 7 months of this year by 2.7 percent, when we consider contracted deliveries the association fell short of this indicator by 1.8 percent. This was discussed at conferences, during planning sessions and at party committee meetings, but for some reason no one thought to discuss this issue in lessons provided by schools and seminars of the economic education system: Everything there went on according to the program, from which no one considered deviating even in a situation such as this.

As we know, just a 1 percent decrease in material outlays in production means an increase of billions of rubles in national income for the country as a whole. Each day our oblast's industry expends raw and other materials worth around 10 million rubles. But not a single city or rayon party committee has calculated how much material resources the enterprises of the city or rayon expend daily, or provided propagandists and students with the appropriate figures. Could this not be why a systematic, far-reaching program of economization and thrift is nonexistent, and why only 27 percent of the students maintain personal economization accounts?

This is not the first year that we have been saying justifiably that party propaganda is divorced from life, from solution of practical problems. This is a very complex, multifaceted problem that depends on various factors. And one of them is that our active ideological experts, and sometimes professional ideological workers as well, have a poor idea of the most urgent managerial and economic problems, and have a poor grasp of economics and of the real processes occurring in the life of the given labor collective. As a result we often use our ideological "weapons" primarily for "area fire," without a clearly defined target, hoping that we might just hit something. Being an engineer by education does not seem to be enough. The main thing is to constantly study life, and meet with the people, and not just at seminars, conferences or political lessons.

If we want to take advantage of our experience, we should devote special attention to restructuring Marxist-Leninist education in the lagging enterprises and production sections. The party committees that came up with the proposal to create schools of socialist management precisely in such sections and brigades must be supported. But we would have to recognize that this experiment has not fully succeeded. Creation of such schools



requires a differentiated approach, a program tailored to each brigade, special training for propagandists, and practical assignments which account for the state of affairs in the given production section. Creation of such schools requires unique procedures. We, however, could not get used to this idea, and tried to solve the arising problems in standard fashion, we did not always consider the opinion of the students themselves. This is the way things turned out, for example, at the Mine imeni Kalinin (in the city of Abay). The people here supported the idea of creating a system of political and economic education, one which would reflect most fully the specific features of the given labor collective, but the party committee shifted all of the work of practically implementing the plans to the propagandists themselves. The party committee provided no assistance to them, and a good program ground to a halt without producing the anticipated impact.

When we talk about the need for strengthening the ties between Marxist-Leninist education and life, we imply strengthening its influence on more than just solving work-related problems alone. But some party workers and propagandists reduce everything to this. During lessons and in the course of daily propaganda work with people, it is important for us to develop their communist philosophy, high political culture and corresponding intellectual and moral qualities. It is all well and good for a propagandist to know how well students of his political school are working, if they are fulfilling their output norms and so on. But today this is not enough. We need to be more interested in the ideological motives of the work of our students, and in their spiritual world. In a word, we must know each person well. But at times we do not even consider this as one of our objectives.

As we know, the republic party organization was subjected to severe and just criticism by the CPSU Central Committee for serious omissions in international and patriotic education of the people. We know that many of the negative phenomena and shortcomings that were noted pertain to our oblast as well. We are especially troubled by the status of ideological education work done with young people, and by their education in international matters. The Komsomol political education system could play a large role in this area. But little is being done to realize these possibilities. The party organizations and the oblast Komsomol committee are dealing with the problems of training for Komsomol members and young people inadequately. The number of schools in the Komsomol political education system decreased significantly in the last training year. And everything in the surviving schools remained the same. The lessons were dry and uninteresting, devoid of the zeal typical of young people, devoid of efforts to find new forms and methods. Our appeal to conduct experiments did not help either.

Frankly speaking the impression that is created is one of a lack of interest on the part of certain Komsomol workers in preserving the system for youth education.

Many of these workers shy away from solving the problems of Marxist-Leninist education for the growing generation. They try to shift all of the associated problems to the party committees and organizations and to political education offices. Even most of the youth debating clubs were created in the last training year at the initiative of the oblast House of Political Education. With the help of party committees and organizations, the oblast Komsomol committee must restore the diverse forms of Marxist-Leninist training for young men and women, fill them with new content, impart a creative, searching nature to the training, and increase the influence of this training on growth of the working energy and social activity of young people, and on formation of the feelings of patriotism and internationalism in the young.

Thus only the very first steps have been taken in restructuring political and economic education. This training year we will have to raise the work of all political schools and seminars to a qualitatively new level and raise the effectiveness of Marxist-Leninist education for laborers.

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**Journal Gives 1987 Figures for Party Membership**  
*18000128 Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN in Russian*  
*No 21, Nov 87 (signed to press 27 Oct 87) pp 6-20*

[Report: "The CPSU in Figures"]

[Text] The Soviet people appropriately link their historical achievements during the past 70 years with the Communist Party and its multifaceted revolutionarily transforming activity. The party armed with the Marxist-Leninist theory determines the long-term prospects for the country's development, ensures scientific guidance for the people's creative activity, and lends an organized, systematic, and purposeful nature to communist construction. The CPSU demonstrates in practice its leading role, heading the workers' struggle for implementing revolutionary transformations in society and for strengthening peace on earth and, at the same time, deriving its strength from the vast capabilities of socialism and from the lively creative activity of the masses.

The restructuring carried out now in accordance with the decisions of the 27th party congress and of subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee is a continuation of the cause of October under new historical conditions. The present political course of the CPSU initiated by the April (1985) Plenum of the Central Committee is aimed at accelerating the country's social and economic development and fundamentally renewing all the aspects of social life. The continuous development and strengthening of the party and the inviolable unity of its ranks are guarantees for a successful accomplishment of the tasks facing Soviet society.

The statistical data published below give a clear idea of the organizational and political potential of the CPSU and of the quantitative and qualitative changes in its composition, strengthening of party ranks, expansion of the party's contact with the masses, the network of party bodies and primary organizations, the electoral party aktiv, and personnel training and retraining.

# I. CPSU Composition and Growth of Its Ranks

The following data (as of 1 January of the corresponding year) attest to how the CPSU grew during the years of Soviet rule:

Years	CPSU members	CPSU candidate members	Total party members
1917 (March)	24000	none	24000
1917 (October)	350000	none	350000
1927	786288	426217	1212505
1937	1453828	527869	1981697
1947	4774886	1277015	6051901
1957	7001114	493459	7494573
1967	12135103	549030	12684133
1977	15365600	628876	15994476
1987	18566787	700928	19267715
As of 1 July 1987	18707341	704812	19412153

The numerical growth of republic party organizations of the CPSU is represented by the following table (data as of 1 January of the corresponding year):

	1947	1967	1977	1987
Communist Party of the Ukraine	560718	2044191	2685902	3231360
Communist Party of Belorussia	84742	359595	524348	679987
Communist Party of Uzbekistan	122999	353841	502690	652348
Communist Party of Kazakhstan	203443	498065	672649	824189
Communist Party of Georgia	152224	265730	324571	389273
Communist Party of Azerbaijan	105475	221694	296169	384096
Communist Party of Lithuania	16202	99379	150826	202413
Communist Party of Moldavia	17207	99024	141831	193640
Communist Party of Latvia	21037	107353	146930	180773
Communist Party of Kirghizia	39568	95291	111742	147381
Communist Party of Tajikistan	26721	76001	98953	124492
Communist Party of Armenia	56438	114535	147460	191753
Communist Party of Turkmenistan	31208	62679	80490	111914
Communist Party of Estonia	12965	61722	87007	111600

Party organizations of krays, oblasts, and autonomous republics in the RSFSR have also grown numerically and strengthened organizationally. As of 1 January 1987 the party organization in the city of Moscow had 1134450 party members in its ranks, in Leningrad Oblast, 611056, in Moscow Oblast, 512135, in Rostov Oblast, 329248, in Krasnodar Kray, 326568, in Sverdlovsk Oblast, 270266, in Gorkiy Oblast, 261975, in Kuybyshev Oblast, 244855, in Kemerovo Oblast, 240495, in the Bashkir ASSR, 227708, in Chelyabinsk Oblast, 225843,

in the Tatar ASSR, 225717, in Voronezh Oblast, 214914, in Volgograd Oblast, 200412, and in Altay Kray, 187286.

## Admission to the CPSU

The CPSU attaches primary importance to seeing to it that the selection of the new party reinforcement ensures a further improvement in its composition and contributes to an intensification in the party's guiding influence on all the aspects of the life of Soviet society.

**Admission to the CPSU Is Characterized by the Following Data:**

	Candidate members admitted to the party	Members admitted to the party
In 1922-1927	1065634	634652
In 1928-1932	2993290	1511352
In 1937-1940	2100780	1175438
In 1941-1945	5412226	3821942
In 1946-1951	1447309	1789703
In 1952-1955	1006190	1272494
In 1956-1961	3250314	2724886
In 1962-1965	3046463	2938111
In 1966-1970	2987809	2988242
In 1971-1975	2593824	2473576
In 1976-1980	3162372	2945652
In 1981-1985	3305956	3141671
In 1986	663070	640719

Remark. In connection with the purge carried out in accordance with the decision of the January (1933) United Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) and the check and exchange of party documents, the admission to the party was suspended in 1933-1936.

**Composition of Candidate Members Admitted to the CPSU According to Types of Activities Is Characterized by the Following Data (throughout territorial party organizations, in percent):**

	1952-1955	1956-1961	1962-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	1976-1980	1981-1985	1986
Total candidate members admitted to the party including:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Workers	28.3	41.1	44.7	52.0	57.6	59.0	59.4	59.3
Kolkhoz members	15.8	22.0	15.0	13.4	11.3	10.3	9.9	9.9
Engineering and technical personnel, agronomists, animal specialists, scientific workers, teachers, physicians, and other national economic specialists	26.4	23.3	28.2	26.4	24.5	25.4	26.1	26.5
Workers in the administrative and managerial apparatus	25.6	12.5	11.1	7.5	5.2	3.8	3.2	3.0
Students	3.9	1.1	1.0	0.7	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.3

During admission to the party the program proposition to the effect that workers should hold the leading place in the social composition of the CPSU is implemented consistently. More than four-fifths of the workers admitted to the party as candidate members work at industrial and transport enterprises and in construction and agriculture. The following data for 1986 indicate this (in percent):

Total workers admitted to the party as candidate members	100.0
Of whom work at enterprises of:	
industry	46.5
transport	9.6
communication	1.5
construction	11.2
on sovkhozes	14.7
trade and public dining	5.9
other sectors	10.6

The proportion of kolkhoz members among those that joined the party in 1986 made up 9.9 percent. At the same time, in party organizations of republics and oblasts, where kolkhoz production occupies a big place (Moldavian, Turkmen, Andizhan, Vinnitsa, and Kho-rezm), representatives of the kolkhoz peasantry among those admitted as candidates make up 20 to 30 percent and more.

The growth of many kolkhoz party organizations occurs primarily owing to tractor and combine operators, drivers, and other machine operators, as well as agricultural specialists. This is evident from such data for 1986 (in percent):

Total kolkhoz members admitted to the party as candidate members	100.0
including:	
tractor and combine operators, drivers, and other machine operators	28.9
working in animal husbandry	26.0
working in field cultivation, vegetable growing, and horticulture	13.0
agronomists, animal specialists, engineers, and other agricultural specialists	21.7

Workers and kolkhoz members taken together make up more than 69 percent of those joining the CPSU as candidate members.

**Women's Admission to the Party Is Characterized by the Following Data:**

	In absolute data	In percent of the total number of those admitted as candidates
In 1939	155747	14.4
in 1946	70240	21.8
In 1956	70076	18.4
In 1966	125793	24.6
In 1976	187680	30.8
In 1986	225628	34.0

The Communist Party constantly sees to it that its ranks are continuously reinforced with advanced youth, primarily the most active Komsomol members.

**Komsomol members admitted to the party as candidate members**  
In absolute data

	In absolute data	In percent of the total number of those admitted as candidates
In 1926	56802	34.0
In 1946	158739	49.3
In 1956	203131	53.3
In 1966	204716	40.1
In 1976	435361	71.4
In 1986	473440	71.4

**Composition of the CPSU According to the Social Status of Party Members (as of 1 January of the corresponding year):**

	Workers		Peasants (kolkhoz members)		Employees and the rest	
	in absolute data	in percent	in absolute data	in percent	in absolute data	in percent
1947	2041317	33.7	1091362	18.0	2919222	48.3
1957	2398510	32.0	1294221	17.3	3801842	50.7
1967	4836220	38.1	2032203	16.0	5815710	45.9
1977	6714795	42.0	2180485	13.6	7099196	44.4
1987	8722639	45.3	2247432	11.6	8297644	43.1

From the data presented it is evident that during the postwar years alone (in the last 40 years) the number of workers in the CPSU increased by 6.681 million, or more than fourfold, and their proportion in the party rose from 33.7 to 45.3 percent. During that time the number of kolkhoz members who were party members increased by 1.156 million. Together workers and kolkhoz members make up 56.9 percent as compared to 51.7 percent in 1947.

The number of employees who are party members is also increasing continuously. Changes in their composition according to types of activities are characterized by the following data (as of 1 January of the corresponding year, in percent):

	1947	1957	1967	1977	1987
Total employees who are party members including:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
managers of rayon, city, okrug, oblast, kray, republic, and central institutions, organizations, and their structural subdivisions	17.0	8.7	4.7	5.5	5.9
engineering and technical personnel and agricultural specialists	21.6	23.7	38.1	44.0	45.8
including managers of industrial, transport, communication, and construction enterprises and of sovkhozes and their deputies	3.0	4.4	3.2	3.6	3.7
workers in science, education, public health, literature, and art	15.8	19.3	23.6	24.2	23.2
workers at trade, public dining, supply, and sales enterprises	7.5	4.8	5.5	4.3	4.0

**Composition of Party Members According to Education (as of 1 January of the corresponding year):**

	1927	1937	1947	1957	1967	1977	1987
Total party members including with education:	1144053	1981697	6051901	7494573	12684133	15994476	19267715
higher	9614	108256	453288	869582	2097055	4008986	6284588
percent	0.8	5.5	7.5	11.6	16.5	25.1	32.6
incomplete higher	—	48563	136149	267158	325985	380349	395581
percent	—	2.4	2.3	3.6	2.6	2.4	2.0
secondary	104714	227612	1324896	1696114	3993119	6268336	8633322
percent	9.1	11.5	21.9	22.6	31.5	39.2	44.8
incomplete secondary	—	228102	1527466	2207191	3417251	3154362	2520697
percent	—	11.5	25.2	29.5	26.9	19.7	13.1
elementary	720203	886606	2099983	2101907	2850723	2182443	1433527
percent	63.0	44.7	34.7	28.0	22.5	13.6	7.5
not having elementary education	309522	482558	510119	352621	—	—	—
percent	27.1	24.4	8.4	4.7	—	—	—

Remark. The data of the all-Union party census were presented as of 1 January 1927. Party members and candidates with incomplete higher education were placed among persons with secondary education and those having incomplete secondary education, among persons with elementary education. Illiterate party members were placed among persons not having elementary education.

People with elementary education and self-taught persons made up 88 percent of the bulk of party members in the early 1920's. Ten years ago the proportion of party members with higher, incomplete higher, and complete secondary education made up 66.7 percent and as of 1 January of the current year it rose to 79.4 percent.

**Number of Party Members Who Are Specialists in Various Branches of Knowledge With Higher and Secondary Specialized Education  
(as of 1 January of the corresponding year):**

	Absolute data	In percent of the total number of party members
1927	24899	2.2
1937	177107	8.9
1947	1436219	23.7
1957	2119667	28.3
1967	4671217	36.8
1977	7924332	49.5
1987	11193909	58.1

In the last 10 years the number of party members who are agricultural specialists increased by 3269577, or 1.4-fold. Every fifth engineer, technician, artist, agronomist, animal specialist, and architect, every sixth physician, more than one-half of the writers, one-third of the composers and cinematographers, and two-thirds of the journalists are now party members.

The party includes a large detachment of scientists—candidates and doctors of sciences and members and corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences, academies of the Union republics, and sectorial academies.

**Number of Party Members Having an Academic Degree (as of 1 January of the corresponding year):**

	Doctors of sciences	Candidates of sciences
1950	2144	14463
1957	4026	37930
1967	8407	76640
1977	22598	177329
1987	32258	245163

**The Number of Women in the CPSU Is Growing Steadily (data as of 1 January of the corresponding year):**

	In absolute data	In percent of the total number of party members
1920 (March)	45297	7.4
1927	148306	12.2
1937	293059	14.8
1947	1102424	18.2
1957	1477678	19.7
1967	2647074	20.9
1977	3947616	24.7
1987	5636029	29.3

In the last 10 years the number of women in the party increased by more than 1.688 million.

In the composition of many party organizations the proportion of women is much higher than the average in

the CPSU: in Gorno-Altay, Vladimir, Ivanovo, Kalinin, Kostroma, Novgorod, Pskov, Tuva, and Yaroslavl oblast and Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian republic party organizations, from 35 to 47 percent.

**National Composition of the CPSU Uniting Advanced Representatives of More than 100 Nations and Nationalities Is Characterized by the Following Data (as of 1 January 1987):**

	In absolute data	In percent
Total CPSU members and candidates	19267715	100.0
including:		
Russians	11370434	59.0
Ukrainians	3082731	16.0
Belorussians	738793	3.8
Uzbeks	475981	2.5
Kazakhs	397037	2.1
Georgians	327529	1.7
Azerbaijanis	347301	1.8
Lithuanians	151144	0.8
Moldavians	114537	0.6
Latvians	79440	0.4
Kirghiz	80494	0.4
Tajiks	89604	0.5
Armenians	296953	1.5
Turkmens	78731	0.4
Estonians	62280	0.3
Other nationalities and nations	1574726	8.2

**Age Composition of Party Members and Candidate Members (as of 1 January 1987):**

	In absolute data	In percent of the total number of party members
Total party members	19267715	100.0
including by age:		
Up to 25	1113031	5.8
26-30	2239109	11.6
31-40	4776695	24.8
41-50	4042052	21.0
52-60	3691223	19.1
older than 60	3405605	17.7

In the last 10 years the number of party members under the age of 30 increased by 693,000. Now there are 3,352,000 of them. Persons aged 31 to 50 make up the bulk of party members and candidate members: 8,819,000, or 45.8 percent. Their number increased by 456,000 as compared to 1977.

**Composition of CPSU Members According to the Length of Party Service (as of 1 January 1987):**

	In absolute data	In percent of the total number of CPSU members
Total CPSU members	18566787	100.0
including with a length of service:		
of up to 5 years	3076491	16.6
6 to 10 years	2843256	15.3
11 to 20 years	4587564	24.7
21 to 30 years	4556409	24.5
31 to 50 years	3364699	18.1
more than 50 years	138368	0.8



By the beginning of this year the CPSU had 138,368 party members with a length of service of more than 50 years, of whom 52 people joined the party before 1917, 367 people, in 1917, 5,777 people, in 1918-1923, and 2,161 people, during the period of the Lenin call-up

(1924). Almost 1,237,000 people joined the CPSU during the period of the Great Patriotic War and more than 90,000, during the postwar period, including 31.9 percent were admitted as party members during the last 10 years.

**Changes in the Disposition of Party Members Throughout National Economic Sectors (as of 1 January of the corresponding year, in percent):**

	1947	1957	1967	1977	1987
Total party members employed in the national economy	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
including:					
in material production sectors	69.4	71.7	73.3	73.2	72.8
including:					
in industry and construction	28.5	32.6	36.6	39.0	39.2
in transport and communication	9.3	10.1	9.0	8.3	7.9
in agriculture	23.4	23.6	22.2	20.4	19.7
in trade, public dining, procurement, and material and technical supply and sales	6.4	5.0	4.4	4.4	4.7
in other material production sectors	1.8	0.4	1.1	1.1	1.3
in nonproduction sectors	30.6	28.3	26.7	26.8	27.2
including					
in science, education, public health, and culture	11.1	12.8	16.5	16.6	15.9
in state and economic management bodies and in the apparatus of party and public organizations	18.5	14.3	8.9	8.5	9.2
in housing, municipal, and domestic services	1.0	1.2	1.3	1.7	2.1

The following data (as of 1 January of the corresponding year) indicate how the number of party members working in industry, construction, transport, and agriculture increased during the postwar period:

	1947	1957	1967	1977	1987
In industry	1188758	1786273	3195718	3968712	4650244
In construction	78128	205132	666380	1069939	1228919
In transport	364492	550268	838019	947612	1035750
In agriculture	1042407	1442571	2336412	2644629	2956533
including:					
on sovkhozes	91109	132762	837543	1042272	1209334
on kolkhozes	761194	931340	1330316	1371435	1487340

Significant work on strengthening party organizations in capital construction and in land reclamation and water resources organizations has been done. During the last 10 years the number of party members working in capital

construction increased by 158980, or 1.1-fold, and in land reclamation and water resources, by 31360, or 1.3-fold.

**Disposition of Party Members in Kolkhoz and Sovkhoz Production (as of 1 January 1987)**

	In absolute data	In percent of the total number of party members working on kolkhozes and sovkhozes
Total party members working on kolkhozes and sovkhozes	2696674	100.0
of them work as:		
tractor and combine operators, drivers, and other agricultural machine operators	779027	28.9

**Disposition of Party Members in Kolkhoz and Sovkhoz Production (as of 1 January 1987)**

	In absolute data	In percent of the total number of party members working on kolkhozes and sovkhozes
in animal husbandry	458459	17.0
in field cultivation, vegetable growing, and horticulture	362198	13.4
as agronomists, animal specialists, veterinarians, and other agricultural specialists	330571	12.3

During the last 10 years the number of party members working on kolkhozes and sovkhozes increased by 283,000 and of those working as tractor and combine operators, drivers, and other machine operators, by 46,000.

**Increase in the Number of Party Members at Enterprises and Organizations for Housing, Municipal, and Domestic Services for the Public, Trade, and Public Catering (as of 1 January of the corresponding year):**

	1947	1957	1967	1977	1987
Housing, municipal, and domestic services	43976*	74257*	139386	222014	317377
Trade and public dining	186212	263044	356581	453087	592033

\*Data on municipal services

**Number of Party Members Working in Science, Education, Public Health, Culture, and Art (as of 1 January of the corresponding year):**

	1957	1967	1977	1987
In scientific institutions	135412*	403358	554794	642633
In higher and secondary specialized educational institutions	84431	215947	314151	360829
In secondary, 8-year, and elementary general educational schools	339060	617212	654262	640724
In public health	174939	282367	343199	399650
In culture and art	108561	151229	168703	186621

\*Data as of 1 January 1958.

**II. Primary Party Organizations**

party and are its most important links operating in the forward line—where the fate of restructuring is being decided.

The party's implementation of its guiding role and increase in the activity of party members are inseparably connected with the further improvement in the work of primary party organizations. They form the basis for the

**Network of Primary Party Organizations (as of 1 January of the corresponding year):**

	1947		1967		1977		1987	
	in absolute data	percent	in absolute data	percent	in absolute data	percent	in absolute data	percent
Total primary party organizations	296568	100.0	337915	100.0	394014	100.0	441851	100.0
including:								
industrial, transport, communication, and construction enterprises	47150	15.9	85899	25.4	102720	26.1	112866	25.5
sovkhozes*	4777	1.6	14053	4.2	19400	4.9	22854	5.2

Network of Primary Party Organizations (as of 1 January of the corresponding year):

	1947		1967		1977		1987	
	in absolute data	percent	in absolute data	percent	in absolute data	percent	in absolute data	percent
kolkhozes	61212	20.7	37086	11.0	27893	7.1	26888	6.1
educational establishments and scientific, cultural-educational, and medical institutions	20420	6.9	76800	22.7	96051	24.4	104988	23.8
institutions, organizations, and economic bodies (from central to rayon bodies)	61057	20.6	54389	16.1	65458	16.6	76684	17.3
trade and public dining enterprises	8124	2.7	14146	4.2	14639	3.7	15933	3.6
rural territorial, at house administrations, and the rest	93828	31.6	55542	16.4	67853	17.2	81638	18.5
*Primary party organizations at mechanized poultry farms, garden nurseries, and stud farms are also included.								

During the last 10 years the total number of primary party organizations increased by 47837, at industrial, transport, communication, and construction enterprises, by 10146, and on sovkhozes, by 3454. At the same time, in connection with the consolidation and transformation of some kolkhozes into sovkhozes the number of kolkhoz party organizations decreased by 1005.

Primary party organizations are becoming ever bigger. The distribution of party organizations according to the number of party members in them can be judged from the following data (as of 1 January of the corresponding year):

	1947		1967		1977		1987	
	in absolute data	percent	in absolute data	percent	in absolute data	percent	in absolute data	percent
Total primary party organizations including with the number of party members:	296568	100.0	337915	100.0	394014	100.0	441851	100.0
up to 15	194236	65.5	136556	40.4	159107	40.4	174656	39.5
15 to 49	86594	29.2	145151	43.0	16145	40.9	177754	40.2
50 to 100	11071	3.7	36227	10.7	47820	12.1	57124	12.9
more than 100	4667	1.6	19981	5.9	25942	6.6	32317	7.4

As of 1 January of this year one party organization of an industrial enterprise, on the average, accounted for 107 party members, of a sovkhoz, 69, of a kolkhoz, 61, and of a construction project, 40.

The structure of primary party organizations is also changing. The number of shop party organizations and party groups in their composition is increasing, which is indicated by the following table (as of 1 January of the corresponding year):

	1927	1937	1947	1967	1977	1987
Total primary party organizations	38978	102475	296568	337915	394014	441851
of which have party committees	—	—	—	26367	37151	45201
percent	—	—	—	7.8	9.4	10.2
including party committees with rights of a rayon party committee	—	—	—	515	800	1115
percent	—	—	—	2.0	2.2	2.5
Shop party organizations	no data		31315	301676	414000	520446
of which have rights of primary party organizations	—	—	11166	197560	282664	354418

	1927	1937	1947	1967	1977	1987
percent	—	—	35.7	65.5	68.3	68.1
including shop party organizations having party committees	—	—	—	168	1064	2168
percent	—	—	—	0.1	0.4	0.6
Party groups	no data		33977	368186	547890	729870
* *						
*						
Junction party committees in railroad transport	—	—	—	50	189	404

### III. Leading Party Bodies of Local Party Organizations. Composition of Party Personnel

The party pays constant attention to an improvement in the structure of local party bodies. The table published below clearly indicates how their network developed (as of 1 January of the corresponding year):

	1937	1947	1957	1967	1977	1987
Central committees of communist parties of the Union republics	10	15	14	14	14	14
Kray committees	5	6	6	6	6	6
oblast committees	73	155	148	133	150	153
Okrug committees	35	24	10	10	10	10
City committees	173	507	567	743	820	890
Urban rayon committees	211	531	426	413	576	663
Rural rayon committees	3276	4214	4039	2726	2851	2886

Remark. As of 1976 the number of oblast party committees includes two city committees with the rights of oblast party committees (Moscow and Kiev).

In recent years the range of the elected party aktiv has expanded significantly. The following data (in thousand people) show the increase in the number of CPSU members:

	Elected before the 25th congress (in 1975-1976)	Elected before the 27th congress (in 1985-1986)
Members of party committees and party bureaus, secretaries and deputy secretaries of shop party organizations, and party group organizers	2002.2	2693.6
Members of party committees and party bureaus and secretaries and deputy secretaries of primary party organizations	1892.7	2209.0
Members and candidate members of okrug, city, and rayon party committees and members of corresponding auditing commissions	382.2	407.0
Members and candidate members of oblast and kray committees and of central committees of communist parties of the Union republics and members of corresponding auditing commissions	30.2	31.9
Total CPSU members elected to leading party bodies	4307.8	5342.1

**The Number of Workers and Kolkhoz Members in the Composition of the Party Aktiv Is Growing:**

	Elected before the 25th congress (in 1975-1976)		Elected before the 27th congress (in 1985-1986)	
	in absolute data	in percent of the total number of elected people	in absolute data	in percent of the total number of elected people
Members of party committees and party bureaus, secretaries of shop party organizations, and party group organizers	633198*	43.0	1285546	47.7
Members of party committees and party bureaus and secretaries and deputy secretaries of primary party organizations	590758**	31.2	693612	31.4
Members and candidate members of rayon, city, and okrug party committees and members of corresponding auditing commissions	156701	41.0	178700	43.9
including members of bureaus of rayon, city, and okrug party committees	5617	13.4	8866	17.7
Members and candidate members of oblast and kray committees and central committees of communist parties of the Union republics and members of corresponding auditing commissions	9107	30.2	10642	33.4
Total workers and kolkhoz members elected to leading party bodies	1389764	36.8	2168500	

40.6At present workers and kolkhoz members form part of the bureaus of all rayon, city, oblast, and kray party committees, as well as of a number of central committees of communist parties of the Union republics.

\*Without party group organizers (no data).

\*\*Data have been refined (as compared with previously published)

Women take an active part in the work of electoral bodies. Their number in the composition of party bureaus and party committees of primary organizations,

rayon, city, okrug, oblast, and kray party committees, and central committees of communist parties of the Union republics is characterized by the following data:

	Elected before the 25th congress (in 1975-1976)		Elected before the 27th congress (in 1985-1986)	
	in absolute data	in percent of the total number of elected people	in absolute data	in percent of the total number of elected people
Members of party committees and party bureaus, secretaries and deputy secretaries of shop party organizations, and party group organizers	303101*	20.6	717783	26.6
Secretaries of primary party organizations	122914	31.5	168508	38.3
Members of party committees and party bureaus of primary party organizations	391480	24.8	555985	30.3
Members and candidate members of rayon, city, and okrug party committees and members of corresponding auditing commissions	110631	28.9	137808	33.9
Members and candidate members of oblast and kray committees and central committees of communist parties of the Union republics and members of corresponding auditing commissions	6927	22.9	8539	26.8

\*Without party group organizers (no data)

**Composition of Secretaries of Primary Party Organizations. It Is Characterized by the Following Data on Education (as of 1 January of the corresponding year, in percent):**

	1947	1957	1967	1977	1987
Have education:					
higher	8.8	12.5	30.1	49.7	63.8
incomplete higher	—	8.0	6.0	4.0	2.6
secondary	26.2	31.0	43.8	42.0	32.8
incomplete secondary	24.0	29.7	16.7	4.2	0.8
elementary	41.0	18.8	3.4	0.1	—

Remark. As of 1 January 1947 secretaries of primary party organizations with incomplete higher education were classified with those having secondary education.

**The Educational Level of Secretaries of Party Committees Is Characterized by the Following Data (as of 1 January of the corresponding year, in percent):**

	higher	Have education incomplete higher	secondary
<b>Secretaries of Rayon, City, and Okrug Party Committees</b>			
1947	12.7	7.2	33.4
1957	28.1	52.9	15.3
1967	91.1	6.3	2.6
1977	99.3	0.6	0.1
1987	99.9	0.1	—
<b>Secretaries of Oblast and Kray Committees and Central Committees of Communist Parties of the Union Republics</b>			
1947	41.3	10.2	29.4
1957	86.8	6.8	5.6
1967	97.6	1.4	1.0
1977	99.5	0.1	0.4
1987	99.9	—	0.1

At present 68.8 percent of the secretaries of rayon, city, and okrug party committees and 84.5 percent of the secretaries of oblast and kray committees and central committees of communist parties of the Union republics, according to their education, are engineers, technicians, economists, and agricultural specialists.

**Training of Personnel at Higher Party Educational Institutions and in the System for Improvement of Skills  
(during the last decade).**

	Number of party educational institutions and training courses as of 1 January 1987	Number of people graduating from educational institutions in 1977-1986
Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee	1	2295
Higher party schools	14	51487

**Training of Personnel at Higher Party Educational Institutions and in the System for Improvement of Skills  
(during the last decade).**

	Number of party educational institutions and training courses as of 1 January 1987	Number of people graduating from educational institutions in 1977-1986
Institute for Improvement of Skills of Managerial Party and Soviet Personnel of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee	1	11603
Faculties for improvement of skills of party and Soviet personnel at higher party schools	14	86699
Courses for improvement of skills of party and Soviet workers at central committees of communist parties of the Union republics and kray and oblast party committees	146	795667

\*\*Including 389,908 part-time secretaries of primary party organizations, who were retrained at 7- to 10-day seminars.

**IV. System of Workers' Political and Economic Training**

The formation of the consciousness of millions of workers and the change in their psychology and thinking in the spirit of innovative approaches of the 27th party congress and of the decisions of the January and June (1987) plenums of the Central Committee are the key tasks of the party's ideological activity. The role of

political training and economic education, which are carried out on a mass scale and now encompass 66 million party members, Komsomol members, and persons who are not members of the party, in its realization rises immeasurably. The data presented below on the number of students in all forms of training give an idea of the expansion in the system of political and economic education in the last 10 years (million people):

	1975/76 academic year	1980/81 academic year	1985/86 academic year	1986/87 academic year
party training	19.5	22.6	13.3	14.4
Komsomol training	6.8	8.7	10.3	7.9
Economic education	20.6	26.3	33.0	37.2
Mass political training	—	—	8.0	6.9
Total	46.9	57.6	64.6	66.4

Remark. Statistical data on party training during 1975/76 and 1980/81 academic years include party members and persons not members of the party engaged in forms of mass political training. Students in the system of economic education do not include workers engaged in the system of improvement of skills.



The Composition of Propagandist Personnel Is Characterized by the Following Data (1986/87 academic year):

Forms of training	in the system of party training	including consultants working with those engaged according to individual plans	Number of propagandists			total in the system of Marxist-Leninist education
			in economic education	in Komsomol political training	in mass forms of political training	
Total	585261	63334	1403019	283789	228085	2500154
percent	100.0	—	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
including party members	582858	—	899080	251129	178765	1911832
percent	99.6	—	64.1	88.5	78.4	76.5
Having higher and incomplete higher education	566419	—	994616	258734	206477	2026246
percent	96.8	—	70.9	91.2	90.5	81.0
Graduated from University of Marxism-Leninism	257421	—	240046	73951	54513	625931
percent	44.0	—	17.1	26.1	23.9	25.0
Have academic degrees and titles	34805	—	10378	3116	3357	51656
percent	5.9	—	0.7	1.1	1.5	2.1
Among propagandists: full-time party, Soviet, trade-union, and Komsomol workers	56607	—	19383	22997	4360	103347
percent	9.7	—	1.4	8.1	1.9	4.1
economic managers	247106	—	523963	97755	87835	956659
percent	42.2	—	37.3	34.4	38.5	38.3
representatives of creative and artistic intelligentsia	5924	—	1740	1689	7455	16808
percent	1.0	—	0.1	0.6	3.3	0.7

The CPSU, embodying the great ideals and goals of October, strictly follows the outlined course of revolutionary creation, intensifying the process of social transformations. As the data presented indicate, it has a vast political, intellectual, and organizational potential for this.

Department of Organizational Party Work of the CPSU Central Committee

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**Official Outlines Tajik Mass Media Perestroyka Process**

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No 17, Sep 87 pp 56-61

[Article by Tajik CP Central Committee Secretary P. Luchinskiy: "Increase the Role and Responsibility of the Mass Information Media"]

[Text] The process of democratization of all aspects of life is spreading widely and deeply in the land. It was pointed out at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum that social organizations are operating with greater initiative and public opinion is expressing itself with clarity and thoughtfulness. And the mass information media have begun to work more energetically in the interests of perestroyka.

To a certain extent the same can be said of the press in our republic. Lately newspapers and magazines, radio and television have become more bold in bringing acute problems in the economy and social sphere before the court of public opinion; in speaking out against negative phenomena; and in their concern for the effectiveness of their publications. Testifying to their growing prestige is the continually-increasing circulation of the periodical publications, which currently amounts to more than 2.5 million copies. There are, on the average, five or six newspapers and magazines for every family.

Perestroyka, which has penetrated all spheres of our lives, has stirred up the people, and has raised their social activeness. Last year alone, for example, three republic newspapers, KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, TODZHIKISTONI SOVETI, and SOVET TODZHIKISTONI received over 20,000 letters—which is a great deal more than several years ago. But most significant is the fact that the nature of the editors' mail has changed: people are writing about what is hindering perestroyka, and are offering concrete suggestions for eliminating negative phenomena.

It must be said that the cadre of journalists in the republic has also resolutely set out on the path to perestroyka, and is deeply concerned for its fate. But it is just here, in the area of cadre questions, that we have, as was stated late last year at the republic congress of journalists, many unresolved problems. Only one-tenth of the creative workers in the society have special education; moreover, these persons are concentrated mainly in the capital and in the oblast centers. The question of training journalists on issues published in the national language remains acute. The first candidates for the Journalism Department at the state university will be selected only this year.

We understand that we must seek cadres by means of talented journalists as well. And our work on this has become noticeably more active: The Dushanbe city organization of the Society of Journalists has opened a university for Worker and Rural Correspondents, and a

photo-journalism department is in operation at the Tajik Telegraph Agency. All oblast and most city and rayon newspapers have established schools for mastering journalism, where the activists on these publications study. Local party committees and journalist organizations regularly conduct meetings of Worker and Rural Correspondents, at which detailed analysis is conducted of the work of not only the mass information media, but also that of the journalists themselves and their part-time assistants.

But there is still more passiveness among party and journalist organizations in this matter than there is active, painstaking and thoughtful work with the cadres of the press, radio and television. Therefore it is not surprising that many of our journalists have difficulty in making public a true outline of perestroyka, the first shoots of the new life, which need every support for all-round development.

The republic Society of Journalists is doing a poor job in carrying out its main function, in which it is expected to influence the process of training and raising the professional level of the workers of the press. Plans they have, but there is as yet little practical organization of creative work. What is more, the party organs are far from exhausting their reserves and capabilities in this matter. This year the Propaganda and Agitation Department at the Central Committee has been directed to organize a standing seminar for journalists at the republic Communist Party Central Committee, but owing to the sluggishness of the workers in the department, the time turns out to have been wasted. From time to time journalists are gathered at the Kulyab Obkom and at the Vakhshskiy and Voseyskiy party raykoms; but they do not hold press conferences with them, and they do not inform them of the socio-economic questions which the party organizations are trying to resolve.

An important aspect of party supervision of the press is increasing its effectiveness and activeness in the struggle for perestroyka and for affirming glasnost, criticism and self-criticism. At a meeting between CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade M.S. Gorbachev and the leaders of the mass information and propaganda media, held immediately following the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, it was stated that criticism must always be based on party principles, and must be grounded in the truth. In its criticism, the press and television must stimulate serious thought and motivate work, and not give rise to rebuttals.

But the sad thing is that the general level of critical articles in the popular press in the republic to this day does not correspond to the spirit of perestroyka. And here, one would think, the problem is not only with the journalists themselves, that they are incapable of rising to the demands of the times. Over the course of many years our criticism has not touched on the principal questions; it has been made anonymously or has struck

out at only minor targets, and at long intervals. In short, criticism has not been accepted as a norm of life. And even now it has been affirmed in far from all the mass information media.

For a long time our newspapers, television and radio have not found their place in the overall atmosphere of glasnost and openness which is being asserted in the republic. The complex processes which have taken place in the republic party organization since the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum have practically escaped them. The press is doing a poor job in reflecting the topic of utilizing the rich economic potential of the republic. It is as if the journalists are not disturbed by the fact that Tajikistan has all the capabilities to not only satisfy its own needs, but also to make a significant contribution to the nationwide fund. The inattention of the press toward these questions was specifically discussed at a recent meeting of the republic party-economic aktiv, which was concerned with the unsatisfactory use of the productive potential which has been created in Tajikistan's agro-industrial complex.

The press, television and radio also showed no interest in the facts disclosed by the Party Control Commission at the Tajik CP Central Committee, how I. Usmanov, the Minister of Highway Construction and Maintenance, was removed from his post for serious shortcomings in his administration of that branch; for not responding to criticism; for covering up for supervisors who had compromised themselves; and for promoting undeserving officials to responsible positions. Also removed from his post was his first deputy, P. Ishmatov.

Were the press, television and radio truly unable to take an interest in such a scandalous disclosure as the nepotism in many of the republic's educational institutions? The Polytechnical Institute, for example, had 18 families and the Agricultural Institute, 39 families on its staff. When the Central Committee Buro, which examined the question of the unhealthy atmosphere in the collective of the Agricultural Institute, received criticism of this, the rector, Yu. Nasyrov reacted in a rather original manner to the criticism—he hired as a laboratory assistant the son of R. Atakhanov, a docent at the CPSU History Department. In all, five relatives of instructors have been given jobs there recently.

And so we see how the leading VUZ in the republic, its rector, the party committee, and the primary party organization are "restructuring" themselves: but our press is silent on these instances. And if it makes a few weak attempts to slightly raise the curtain on the "secret" affairs of grafters and bribe-takers, on close and remote relatives, on protectionism, on hiding behind important positions and cover-ups by certain persons among the law-enforcement organs who are anxious to please, they are very timid attempts. In such a situation it is hard to speak of affirming glasnost, openness, criticism and self-criticism in the press.

"Readers are perplexed when criticism is not followed by changes for the better," said M. Mabatshoyev, editor of the newspaper TODZHIKISTONI SOVETI at a recent plenum of the republic Communist Party Central Committee. "There are still instances in which statements in the press are ignored. Not so long ago, for example, the editors published some critical material: the people were indignant about the unsatisfactory work of the post office in delivering the periodical press, wherein piles of newspapers had accumulated and went nowhere. And then came the reply from the republic Ministry of Communications: 'There are instances in which critical material is published, but is not sent to us for examination. Owing to budgetary restraints, the Ministry of Communication is unable to subscribe to all republic newspapers and magazines.'"

It is appropriate to ask, to what does the ministry subscribe if not to the newspaper—the organ of the central committee and the republic government? But if they can't subscribe to the newspaper, then they should take some from the piles lying about free of charge, without doing damage to the budget of their upstanding organization, and they should respond to editors on the essence of the critical publication.

Presently a totally new approach to criticism is required: the party has declared to the entire nation that glasnost and criticism are both the inexorable condition for the process of democratization of our society, and one of the most important guarantees of the irreversible nature of the changes put in motion. How shall we live if not by means of criticism, and especially by means of criticism from below; how shall we prove our policies, struggle with negative phenomena, or forestall these phenomena? Therefore, we shall strive to make our press more effective, so that it will give no peace to loafers, to profit-seekers, to time-servers, or to those who suppress criticism; so that it will more actively assist those who are struggling for perestroika.

In the Central Committee departments we shall take control over the most significant articles in the republic's mass information and propaganda media, and we shall follow the course of realization of the critical remarks. We are convinced that without the active, continuous support of the party committees it will be difficult to achieve effectiveness in the articles published in the newspaper or aired on radio and television. For example, last year the Central Committee Buro adopted a resolution on four problematic publications of the newspaper KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA; and this year several articles from the republic mass information media have been examined. Many harsh articles and broadcasts are being discussed in the Central Committee departments; at ministries and departments; and with in party, Soviet, and economic organs in the localities. In short, not a single significant article goes unnoticed. Quite often the Central Committee recommends the local organs examine this or that publication and try to

provide concrete and businesslike responses to the critical signals. In the course of the year, more than 130 resolutions were made by party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms with respect to items from the press, television or radio.

As is well-known, the journalist finds the path to the readers' hearts only through in-depth penetration to the essence of today's social and economic phenomena, and by having extensive knowledge in various spheres. But the author-journalist's personal, interested position with respect to improving matters, and his desire to be of assistance in those places where justice must be restored, play a very important part as well.

A journalist from the newspaper KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA was literally stunned at what he saw in the sanatorium of a boarding school in Voseyskiy Rayon: pale children who had forgotten the taste of milk and fruit (and this in Tajikistan yet); youngsters, dressed in clothes too big for them. And the chairman of the rayon union of consumer cooperatives, suffering no pangs of conscience, was dumping stale dried fruits and canned vegetables on the boarding school. He was also shocked by the dozens of impassive, formal, bureaucratic reports from numerous commissions—from the rayon ispolkom and from the ministries of education and health, with the disgraceful formula-responses: "underfunding," and "undersupply."

"With every hour the feelings of guilt for the children became more acute," writes the journalist in his article, "With Seven Stepmothers." The author's conclusion is categorical, but just: "Today not a single administrator needs to deprive himself of a thing on behalf of the boarding school students—the state provides for them completely. If they would just be kind enough to provide to the children all of the privileges granted them by the Motherland."

Much of that which the article's author wrote came as a surprise to the rayon administrators—they had no concerns about the pupils at the boarding school. And there would have been yet another formal reply—had it not been for the firm position taken by the newspaper, which insisted on the adoption of the most decisive measures to improve things at the boarding school.

We strive to support in every way such press articles, and understand how important the emotional appeal of journalists is, and the kind of support and empathy it arouses among the readers. Moreover, practical experience of recent times shows the great importance of dialogue with the readers, of their being fully and completely informed. Of course the principal role here belongs to the press, television and radio.

We are gradually developing an integrated system in the republic for informing the public of the activities of the Central Committee and that of the obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms of the republic Communist Party. Reports

on the resolutions adopted by the party committees are regularly made in the newspaper and on television and radio broadcasts. And what is typical is that the materials come out in the same form as that in which they were discussed in the party organ, without toning down the severity of the problems brought out. This is important; for silence and embarrassed patter at times give rise to feelings of mistrust in party information among the people, and become the basis of various rumors and gossip.

It should be noted that now practically all composite traveling brigades from the republic CP Central Committee which go out into the localities have adopted the mandatory procedure of including representatives of the mass information media. Last year, for example, such groups examined the activity of the Bakhshskiy, Murghabskiy and Sovetskiy Raykoms, and the Ura-Tyube party gorkom on implementing perestroyka, and rendered practical assistance to them. The activities of the brigades have been given wide publicity: they have been meeting at the primary party organizations with communists and workers from enterprises in industry, construction, agriculture and the services sphere; they have visited families; they have become acquainted with the work of the hospitals, schools, and trade enterprises; and they have held audiences with citizens on personal questions. Local press and radio have given advance notice of the arrival of the brigades.

We believe that one of the most important results is the publication of articles, reports and essays on the fine points of experience, and chiefly—on the shortcomings brought out by the brigades, which the journalists traveling to the localities as part of the composite brigades prepare for their own newspaper, radio and television reporting. And the representatives of Central Committee compartments, ministries and departments then prepare their own summaries and conclusions on the work of the party committees in question, and their buros and secretaries. This material is then examined in accordance with mandatory procedure at meetings of the party-management aktiv, where specific measures are outlined for eliminating the shortcomings and for the restructuring of all party, economic and ideological-educational work.

The example cited shows that the republic party committees and the mass information media have begun to read from the same sheet of music, which naturally doubles the efforts to assist perestroyka, and develop glasnost and democracy. But there are still quite a few problems to solve. At the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum it was stated that we have taken a firm grasp on the rule not to be diverted from the acute problems and not to let problems accumulate—too many have accumulated already. The fear of making a mistake is especially ruinous: it paralyzes the will and retards efforts to transform society.

And that is the way the question is put today. Therefore, we are giving thought to how to better stimulate the workers in the press, television and radio for a new search for reserves, and for the struggle with shortcomings. We do have experience: the bureau of the republic CP Central Committee has examined the question, "On the Work of the Il'ichevskiy Party Raykom on the Supervision of the Rayon Newspaper NURI ILICH in the Light of the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress." The document adopted at the Bureau session and subsequently published in the press has become the subject of discussion at republic party committees, and a guidepost in their activities on supervision of the local press. The document lays special stress both on the development of glasnost, criticism and self-criticism on the pages of the periodical publications, and on a bold quest for unutilized reserves. We give every support to those newspapers who carry out the quest for non-standard solutions to problems of perestroika, and acceleration of socio-economic development.

It is important that each newspaper find its own place and determine its own role in perestroika. But at times one hears: "Can a 'rayonka' really keep pace with the oblast, much less the central newspaper?" I am convinced, it not only can but it must. How is the rayon newspaper different? Primarily in terms of the topicality of the problems it raises, and its frankness in terms of what has become painful and what is disturbing the reader day-by-day. Who besides the local press can be as wise and as just with its readership?

Of course, if in issue after issue they publish only summaries about the pace of agricultural work, reports on measures being taken or pieces of reporting where one's eyes become glazed with the brandnames of tractors or the names of machinery operators, livestock specialists, or with ton-kilometers; then such a newspaper, one without problems, without live human beings, should be immediately sent off to be made into pulp. It does not make contact with the reader and does not arouse a response in him or the desire to write to the newspaper, to share his own innermost thoughts.

The experience of the newspaper KHAKIKAT (Leninskiy Rayon) convincingly testifies to the fact that the rayon press is gaining prestige and power in conditions of perestroika. Here it has become the tradition for creative workers to meet with the secretaries, the department chiefs at the party raykom, and representatives of the rayispolkom and its services. As a result, more and more interesting polemical materials are appearing, in which shortcomings are disclosed in the work of enterprises in industry, transport, construction and the services sphere. Articles by journalists have assisted the rayispolkom in getting rid of the director of the *Zumrad* Department Store, D. Sattarov; and in imposing severe punishment on A. Abdullayev, director of a domestic services combine, Ye. Niyazov, director of Motor Transport Enterprise No 3, and others. In a word, the rayon newspaper has become the kind of weapon which helps

the party carry out perestroika, and it inspires the people's confidence in the fact that evil is being punished and that the entire community must wage a common struggle with it.

To see the most important thing; not to fritter away one's resources or to dwell on petty problems—these are the basic principles which are becoming most important in the activity of the republic press. Thus, the newspaper TODZHIKISTONI SOVETI published a series of articles from Kabodiyonskiy Rayon, which became the impetus for establishing a zone of temperance and domestic culture. After critically analyzing the state of affairs in the rayon, the newspaper came to the conclusion that the initiative of the workers was not being supported by organizational or educational work, and had taken on a formalistic aspect with glowing statistical reports. These press reports forced the rayon administrators to take a fresh look at their activities in affirming a life of sobriety, to thoroughly analyze its shortcomings, and to outline specific ways to eliminate them.

However, it must be frankly stated that both this and many other newspapers frequently lack persistence and purposefulness in illuminating this or that topic. It is not surprising that the editorial staff quite often finds its "second wind" only after representatives of the party committee hold a principled conversation with them. There have been slumps, or to put it more accurately, flops in the treatment of timely topics on the pages of the papers, such as the struggle with unearned income, with drunkenness and alcoholism; or such as atheist education, and so on.

On the other hand, quite often the press occupies itself with searching out "cooked up" facts, and without taking the real state of affairs into consideration, rushes into print with another sensational item. Haste, rashness, and peremptory conclusions place the press in an awkward position and undermine its prestige. The newspaper KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA found itself in just such a position after publishing a heckling report entitled "Disappearance of a Newspaper." In tones worthy of a detective novel it laid out the story of the citizens of Dushanbe not receiving the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, in which a critical article appeared, "Do They Not Inquire About Silence?". The author of the heckling report alluded to the premeditated nature of the concealment of the newspaper from the readers. But upon checking it turned out that on that day the city post office had not received the proper number of bundles of SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, and as a result the subscribers received their copies late. Publication of such articles contradict the principles of the party press: to be as accurate as possible in bringing out the facts, and to be objective and reasonable in laying out the materials.

Unquestionably a great deal depends on the manner in which the mass information media present this or that problem to the readers. On the topic of atheist propaganda, for example, newspaper publications have



appeared in the past—but they, frankly, were not read, since everything was clear in the heading or in the rubric of the type “The Atheist’s Corner.” Ordinarily these “corners” remained untouched. But when, let us say, the newspaper TODZHIKISTONI SOVETI decided to reject stereotyped patterns, things moved off dead center. A new rubric, “The Spiritual Environment,” and bright headlines invite the reader to speak out on this topic, and the editors began to receive mail. Of course this is only the start of a large project. But the main thing is the journalists found the key to the solution of the problem, which arises from the fact that clergymen in the republic are striving in every way to exert influence on education, culture and popular customs, and even on productive relationships.

The mass information media have begun in-depth development of the topic of internationalist education. There has been positive experience in this matter. As an example one may cite the participation of the republic newspaper SOVET TODZHIKISTONI, which is published in the Uzbek language, in propaganda of socialist competition—“The Workers’ Relay Race.” This well-recommended type of labor competition was used during construction of the Rogunskaya GES following the example of the Nurekskaya GES. In order to show the work of the subcontractors from every angle, a journalist from the editorial staff paid a visit to the Urals. Solid contacts were established between the newspaper and the Sverdlovsk party gorkom, and the collective of the Uralelektrotyazhmash Association. At present our newspaper and the oblast newspaper URALSKIY RABOCHIIY systematically print materials on the course of the competition of the construction workers at the Rogunskiy GES and their subcontractors according to the principles of “workers’ relay race.”

Our youth publications have begun to make use of new forms of international education. In the course of conducting a nationwide young people’s referendum, “Time to Take Action!”, the editors of the newspaper KOMSOMOLETS TADZHIKISTANA received a letter from a young Dushanbe student, Munira Nabiyeva. In order to provide emotional content and the maximum amount of purposefulness to the antiwar movement of the republic Komsomol, Nabiyeva proposed encircling the Earth with a symbolic “Peace Belt,” which follows the 39th parallel. Located along this latitude are not only the girl’s native city of Dushanbe, but also Washington and the capital of the 13th World Festival of Young People and Students—Pyongyang.

The letter from the young student was discussed at a joint extraordinary meeting of creative collectives of both republic youth newspapers, in the course of which nearly 40 specific suggestions were worked out. The journalists came to the conclusion that the action which was dubbed, “The Password is Peace Belt,” may arouse widespread sympathy not only in our country but in a number of the states through which this symbolic “belt” passes. A press conference was organized in Moscow for

selected journalists from a number of socialist countries, as well as the USA, Japan and Italy, with representatives of young people from Tajikistan. Materials from the press conference were published in the newspapers KOMSOMOLETS TADZHIKISTANA and KOMSOMOLI TODZHIKISTON, and reports on this were sent abroad via APN [Novosti Press Agency] lines on an extraordinary radio bridge “Dushanbe to the ‘Peace Belt.’”

We believe that the problem of the status of local newspapers is extremely important. Currently we are preparing an experiment: publishing a single edition based on two or three “rayonkas” with the status of “newspapers of the party (obkom) Central Committee for such-and-such a region.” What will this provide? First of all, the level of the publication will be raised and there will be fewer petty topics; secondly, such a paper will be more bold in raising problems in the region, and will not have to look over its shoulder at the restraining influences of the party raykom or gorkom. It is also of considerable importance that the material base of such combined papers will be much more powerful.

Life confronts us with many complex problems. But they must be solved now, or else the perestroyka will begin to spin its wheels, and mark time in place. In this necessary and combative work, the party attributes a special place to the press. And we are convinced that the press and all journalists in the republic, together with the party and the people, will actively, responsibly, undeviatingly and tirelessly carry out the business of perestroyka.

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#### **New Book on Western Propaganda Use of ‘Islamic Factor’**

*18300074a Baku MOLODEZH AZERBAYDZHANA in  
Russian 8, 10, 12 Sep 87*

[Article by R. Guseinov: “Beneath the Green Banner of Islam”; first three paragraphs are MOLODEZH AZERBAYDZHANA introduction]

[8 Sep 87 p 2]

[Text] R. Guseinov’s book “Lozh na korotkikh nogakh” [Lies on Short Legs] will be published this year by the Azerneshr Publishing House.

The author of the book, an international journalist and a candidate of historical sciences, uses a large number of facts to reveal the forms and methods employed by imperialist propaganda in the struggle against the socialist countries and Azerbaijan; he exposes attempts to influence our young people and to utilize cultural exchanges for “psychological warfare.”

Excerpts from the book prepared by the author are published below.

### 1. Metamorphoses of the Islamic Factor

I often went to the quiet, cozy lanes of the Latin Quarter not far from the center of Paris. I went there for lessons at Sorbonne University. I spent hours there in the library, and many times I dropped into the corner cafe next door to the Metro station for tea. The proprietor, a Moroccan who made a perfect study of the likes of his regular customers, invariably brought me a small steaming teapot filled with an aromatic brew giving off a hint of jasmine. The relatively low prices attracted many students to this cafe. Kitty-corner from the cafe, across the road, the top of a mosque could be seen in the shade of plane trees. My friends told me that this mosque—the largest in Paris—was an architectural monument that contained a fabulous library and a cozy courtyard, and I always had it in my mind to visit it. But the crazy whirl of Paris and unexpected matters that I could not postpone caused me to put off this visit, and I must confess that after a while the idea slipped my mind. But then something happened to bring the idea back.

That evening my friends and I occupied our usual corner table and our proprietor waved us a friendly hello, when I noticed an unusual commotion by the building across the street. The tight lane was blocked by dozens of vehicles, and policemen were exhausting themselves trying to direct the traffic. Limousines bearing diplomatic seals and ambassadorial flags on their radiators were pulling up in grand fashion. An armored police bus packed with armed lawmen was parked a short distance down the street. Judging from everything the security measures were in honor of the large number of Arab diplomats. "Is the Mafia convening its 'godfathers' here?" one of us joked with the cafe proprietor when he appeared at our table. He did not get the joke and, nodding respectfully in the direction of the mosque, he said that a famous theologian from Saudi Arabia was to give a sermon here today. I decided not to miss such an opportunity. Luckily, judging from everything the guest of honor had not yet arrived, and so I hurried to the mosque.

The Saudi theologian turned out to be a short, thin, handsome man endowed with the enviable talent of an orator and debater.

I will not go into the main ideas of his statement. Briefly they boiled down to praise of Islam as an active, mighty force that was finding more and more followers "on all continents and in all the world." "The Muslim region of the world," the theologian noted, "possesses sizable human, material and natural potentials. And finally, it possesses the one main thing that ties us together and makes us powerful. This is the faith in Allah and the

power of the spirit emanating from him." At the same time the theologian-scholar advised that there is no agreement in the Muslim house, there is no unity in the fight against the godless.

The sermon also revealed the ways by which unity could be strengthened. These were solidarity and cooperation of Muslim states in the economic, social, cultural, scientific and other important areas. There was elimination of racial segregation and discrimination, and eradication of colonialism in all of its forms. Coordination of efforts to protect holy places and support to the fight of the Palestinian people for their rights.

What can I say? The platform was a constructive one, and believers could count on the sympathy and support of many people. But the end of the sermon sounded strange to me. Communists were declared to be the main enemies of believing Muslims. The theologian directed all of his passion into exposing a conspiracy having the objective of taking away the Muslims' oil—their principal weapon, causing strife among them and establishing Marxist domination. At this point his speech began to remind me of others we have heard in recent years from the White House, where influential "supporters of Islam" have made themselves known.

I learned from talking with people who came together that night in the mosque that the Saudi occupied an influential post in the Islamic Conference Organization (ICO) and that he was touring Europe as its representative. On the following day I went back to the mosque and asked my way to the library.

Clearly excited by the interest displayed in yesterday's lecture, a courteous mosque attendant eagerly responded to my request for assistance in finding information on international Muslim organizations, and he quickly brought me a pile of books and journals. "There are now no less than three dozen of such organizations," he said, "but only three of them are the largest and most influential." The librarian said significantly that it was a long time since he had noticed such interest in a sermon, though he had been working there long. And what was interesting was not only the personality of the theologian but also the attention to the "Islamic factor."

We will return later on to Muslim organizations, and discuss their structure and the nature of their activities. For the moment we will try to reveal what the concept "Islamic factor" means, and what place it occupies in the ideological-political struggle.

The changes that have been occurring in the world could not but affect Islam. Today this is no longer a narrowly dogmatic religious teaching. The face of Islam has undergone significant changes, but without question its essence has remained unchanged.

First of all Muslim leaders cannot close their eyes to certain historical factors of modern times such as the national liberation movement, penetration of the ideas of socialism into Muslim countries, and the accomplishments of science and technology. The necessity for adapting the religious philosophy and the socially moral ideals of Islam to the spirit of the times, and its ideas to the needs of modern believers, is obvious. But it should be noted right away that these changes depend in many ways both on the political orientation of the ruling forces of the given Muslim country, and on the influence exercised by the Muslim clergy. In this case theologians are compelled to reckon with the relationship between democratic and reactionary forces within each individual country.

The winds of modernity have also had a significant effect on the propaganda structure of Islam. It is not at all necessary for modern pilgrims making their way to Mecca to travel there on foot, and to even crawl the last few meters to the holy place, scraping their knees. Chartered Boeings rush them to the country in an instant, and air-conditioned buses drive them to the holy places. While the architecture of mosques built in recent years has remained traditional, their inner workings cannot but make an impression in terms of the quantity of electronic apparatus and amplifiers. Saudi theologians get around in Cadillacs equipped with computers, personal telephones and antennas capable of picking up satellite communications. They eagerly give interviews and take part in television broadcasts, and when they travel abroad they often show preference for European dress.

[10 Sep 87 p 2]

[Text]

## 2. Conservatism and Modernism—Two Sides of the Same Coin

The revolution in Iran is a graphical example of how much propaganda organized by modern methods can do. It should be noted that this country's Moslem clergy possesses a mighty, branched organization. Around 180,000 mullahs, dozens of thousands of ulemas, around a thousand Muslim theologians of the highest rank—ayatollahs—and hundreds of thousands of people who attend to believers in the mosques: All of this enormous and influential force saw Khomeini as their indisputable guide and leader. Residing as an emigrant in Nofl-le-Chateau [transliteration], a small place near Paris, the Ayatollah successfully led the revolution in its decisive months and days. His residence was equipped with the latest telex communication and a direct telephone line to Teheran, which cost a tidy sum.

The latest information from Teheran, including from the Imam's sympathizers in the highest government circles and even in the Shah's secret service—the SAWAC—flowed continuously to Nofl-le-Chateau, where it was meticulously analyzed by Khomeini's assistants.

Statements and messages from the Ayatollah dictated in Paris were recorded in Teheran on tape recorders hooked up to telephones. Then expert operators filtered the noise out of the recordings and quickly duplicated them in thousands of copies. The vast army of clergymen immediately passed these instructions along, and in literally a few hours they became known to millions of people.

Paradoxical though this may be, dark, fanatical forces and the strict laws of the Shari'ah, which bring back ominous memories from the past, are also stirring Islam awake.

A few years ago in Jiddah (in Saudi Arabia) an executioner cold-bloodedly beheaded a young man from a notable family before a large gathering of people. This tragic event was preceded by a story recalling that told by Shakespeare in his immortal work. Two young lovers decided to marry despite the prohibitions of their parents. But to do so, they had to flee to Europe. The unlucky fugitives were arrested at Riyadh Airport by agents of the secret service, which has the responsibility for monitoring compliance with Muslim customs. The young girl was thrown into the family prison for life, and the young man ended his life on the executioner's block.

Judges make active use of the executioner's services in modern Pakistan and Iran. Just like in the Middle Ages, an offender may be publicly whipped, and a judge may also have his hands chopped off. Europeans have also been victim to these atrocious laws.

There can be no doubt that the masses of orthodox Muslims concerned for the "decline of morality and the corruption of the young" are not at all the driving force behind such trends. The enemies of the national liberation movement are forwarding a program for restructuring the sociopolitical and economic system on a religious basis. An example of such an attempt can be found in modern Pakistan. Religious Muslim fanaticism directed both against Hindu India and against Afghanistan, which has embarked upon the path of socialist development, is being incited in this country competently and consistently, not without the USA's participation. In Pakistan, the Italian journal PANORAMA noted, Islamic traditions are being incorporated into all society, and Muslim militia detachments are being created in the universities. All public life is structured on the basis of principles sanctioned by the Koran. According to a report in the English newspaper TIMES, a certain Pakistani political leader attending a puppet show declared that in the future such performances must be permeated more deeply with the spirit of Islam and nationalism. It was even decided in Pakistan to create a special committee that would make sure that puppets would express the advantages of Islam and the progress of Pakistan. The religious content of study programs, radio and television in Pakistan was increased with the purpose of instilling



Islamic traditions in the country's life. A reform conducted in education and marriage mostly affected the interests of women, who had been discriminated against even before the reform.

For example, women are not permitted to participate in competitive sports. This prohibition was imposed despite the fact that Pakistani sportswomen declared that they were prepared to reject short athletic clothing in accordance with the rules of Islam, and to play in trousers or wide pantaloons—part of the Pakistani national costume. Muslim fanatics are now proposing to deprive women of the right to vote or to drive a car, and as is now true in Saudi Arabia, they propose paying women who are victims of traffic accidents only half the sum paid to male victims in a similar situation.

Characteristically, ruling circles of the USA offer different assessments of the role of Islam in different political situations. Allocating funds to support dushman sent into Afghanistan from Pakistani territory, they exalt them as the true defenders of Islam. But when the discussion turns to the revolution in Iran, other words that accuse Muslims of fanaticism and cruelty are found in the White House. And oftentimes when the situation becomes tense in a given region in response to provocation by imperialist interference, "the hand of Moscow" is purported to be involved.

A large number of Islamic scientific research centers and organizations created in recent years are being used to conduct ideological sabotage against countries of the socialist fraternity. Principal among them are the Academy of Islamic Research of Cairo University, the Institute for Islamic Research in Pakistan, and the Institute for Muslim Minority Affairs at the King Abdul Aziz University in Jiddah. The last institution requires special discussion. Its anti-Soviet and anticommunist orientation is clearly defined in its program, which states that "the institute deals with the problems of millions of Muslims in hostile surroundings, including in Turkestan, and its main objective is to fight anti-Islamic tendencies, and chiefly communism."

The "position of Muslims in the USSR" was discussed at the very first plenary meeting. Baymirza Khaitov, a traitor to the motherland and a Nazi accomplice, was the main speaker.

All of these organizations are secretly and sometimes openly subsidized by the USA and by reactionary Arab regimes. The objective of this policy is revealed quite eloquently in a statement by John Dulles, an avid foe of communism: "The religious beliefs of Eastern countries have deep roots, and they are distinguished by many valuable qualities. They cannot be reconciled with communistic atheism and materialism. Owing to this a sense of community is created between them and us, and our task is to discover this sense of community and to develop it."

John Dulles knew what he was talking about. And when it comes to his brother, Allen Dulles, a former U.S. secretary of state and CIA director, he preferred to remain quiet on these touchy subjects, while still carrying on activities in this area.

The CIA is trying to capitalize on various religious conflicts, directing the fanaticism of believers into a channel advantageous to the USA. The Indian press carried alarming reports on contacts established between the transoceanic espionage agency and some separatist organizations active in strategically important states in the northeast and in other Indian territories. The USA's special services also have a hand in the strife between Tamil and Sinhalese elements in Sri Lanka.

Thus we can conclude that reactionary Islamic propaganda centers, which are conspiring with Western propaganda centers on the common platform of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, are actually supporting imperialist propaganda, even though they continually assert their independence of Western ideology.

[12 Sep 87, p 2]

[Text]

### 3. Muslims on the Two Sides of the Political Struggle

I recall a meeting with a Lebanese student who came specially from Braunschweig to acquaint himself with some young Azerbaijanis visiting in the FRG. He did not conceal the fact that he was a member of the United Muslim Student Organization in Europe. We were aware that "Muslim brothers" actively used this organization for their own propaganda aims. The young Lebanese had never been in the USSR or in other socialist countries, but his understanding of the "status of Muslims" under socialism was distinguished by a wild mixture of the most malicious attacks by Western propaganda and clerical Islamic groups.

Any debate or discussion is interesting when the parties to it are prepared for it, when they know something about the problem they are discussing. Our opponent was not prepared in this way, but nonetheless we decided to invite him to join us in our bus, and so he spent an entire day with us. This was perhaps a fortunate decision. The discussions and sometimes hot disputes, participation in concerts and meetings with German friends helped him, if not to completely change his point of view, at least to think about the fact that Muslims in the USSR are not as tormented and underprivileged as represented in the West.

The West has been drawing close to reactionary Muslim regimes especially actively in the last decade. A large number of conferences and consultative meetings, including secret ones, in which state and political leaders, scientists and specialists of Western and Muslim countries took part, led to the creation of a cultural

society called "Islam and the West" in September 1979. A report emphasized that this was a society led by both prominent Muslim officials and Western "specialists in Islamic studies" who were "free of the influence of all governments, organs and official organizations."

The activities of subversive radio centers, which devote special attention to religious topics, have become significantly more aggressive.

The traditional topics of "the absence of free conscience" in our country, of "religious resurrection of the Muslims" and of "persecution of believers" are now being quite obviously coordinated in different areas. Some slanderous broadcasts are often heard practically on the same day from different radio stations located on different continents.

Malicious slander of the Soviet Union in connection with the events in Afghanistan has acquired unprecedented scope in the activities of the mass media of all imperialist countries. Assertions of increasing absurdity "concerning Moscow's far-reaching military strategic goals," "concerning the USSR's interests in the oil-rich regions of countries neighboring on Afghanistan," "concerning the threat to Islam from the USSR" and so on have begun flowing as if from a horn of plenty.

Western bourgeois press has closed the door to information of another sort, namely the truth about the actions of the dushman.

This one March day of 1984 was imprinted in the memories of Kabul citizens for a long time. A terrible explosion shook a mosque in the middle of prayers. Four persons died, 21 were injured, and the mosque, a sacred place of the believing population, suffered seriously. The criminals responsible for this explosion were the same dushman who hypocritically proclaimed themselves to be "champions of the cause of Islam," which does not deter them from blowing up mosques, burning libraries containing sacred copies of the Koran and beheading mullahs who refuse to go against the people. Everything connected with the culture and education of the people and with public health evokes special hatred in the enemies of the revolution. According to figures carried in the press the dushman have destroyed and burned 1,814 schools, 31 hospitals, 111 health centers and 906 peasants' cooperatives. How reminiscent this all is of what is going on in Nicaragua! The targets that are selected are the same, and the weapons used in sabotage against the legal government carry the same American trademarks.

The famous Hada shrine. There is not a single scholar of Eastern culture who is not familiar with this unique and unrepeatable monument, a model of the merging of Eastern and Western culture. Even the wild hordes of nomads and invaders, including those of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, who set everything in their path afire, did not touch this monument. But the dushman

destroyed the shrine. Several attempts were made to destroy the mosque and tomb in the city of Mazar-i-Sharif—fabulous monuments of ancient architecture.

Speaking during a mass protest meeting by the mosque, Mukhammed Salem Elmi, a prominent religious official, read a statement by the higher council of ulemas and clergy in connection with the counterrevolution's stunt. It makes direct reference to the complicity of the United States in the murder of believers in the Kabul mosque, and to the responsibility of the Reagan administration for the death and destruction sown on Afghan soil by counterrevolutionary bands.

While exalting the actions of the dushman, bourgeois propaganda concurrently writes with sham concern about violations of the rights of practicing Muslims in the USSR.

The various propaganda radio stations would very much like to inflame religious and nationalistic sentiments in at least some citizens of the USSR. It is no accident that assertions suggesting that Muslims are prohibited from fasting and prayer, that they are being "artificially isolated" from like believers in foreign countries, and that Soviet Muslims are opposed to the existing structure are the favored theses of bourgeois propaganda.

Baymirza Khaitov, a former Nazi who now works in the role of a "specialist" on the Soviet East, asserts in the journal of the World Islamic League that in the USSR, "Muslims have been left without educated religious officials," "mosques and medrese are closed," and "Islamic religious life (prayer, Ramadan, ceremonies, zakyat, offerings, pilgrimages to Mecca) are prohibited by law," as are religious weddings based on the shari'ah.

These assertions have nothing in common with reality. Actually, both nonbelieving and believing citizens of the USSR possess the full spectrum of rights and liberties which socialist democracy affords. Among the more than 40 religions and religious orientations existing in the Soviet Union, Islam occupies second place in number of followers (after Russian Orthodoxy). Muslims in the USSR wishing to satisfy their needs have several hundred large central and thousands of district and rural mosques. In the years following adoption of the 1977 USSR Constitution, 69 mosques were opened. The religious life of the followers of Islam is managed by four ecclesiastical administrations, one of which functions out of Baku. Each year the Muslim ecclesiastical administrations publish lunar calendars. Four editions of the Koran, books containing the sayings of the prophet Muhammad and albums devoted to Muslim culture have been published, and the journal MUSULMANE SOVETSKOGO VOSTOKA comes out regularly in four languages. Clergymen are trained both in Islamic educational institutions inside the country and in the shari'ah faculties of Islamic universities in Arab countries.

Mosques make wide use of the possibility allowed by law for collecting voluntary contributions from believers. The income of religious organizations is not taxed in any way.

Muslim organizations functioning in our country are taking a most active part in the struggle for peace and friendship among peoples. They maintain contacts with like-minded persons in almost 80 of the world's countries, each year they invite dozens of delegations of Muslim officials from abroad to the USSR, and they themselves make regular visits in response.

Such is the truth, and it is becoming increasingly more difficult for those who try to hide it. And to put this

matter to rest I would like to bring up one more piece of evidence. This statement was made by Seykhu Farid Mukhammed Zavokhiru, a guest of the USSR from Sri Lanka: "Muslims are engaged in peaceful labor, and they are practicing their beliefs unhindered. But another thing that is important is that the full work agenda of the mosques and unconstrained performance of religious rites do not at all interfere with the affairs of the state, and vice versa. Muslims participate actively in the creation of material and cultural valuables. To be frank, your believers live much better than their counterparts in other countries."

11004

### EsSSR Official Elaborates On Exit Procedures For Believers

18000145a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in  
Russian 6 Dec 87 p 3

[Interview conducted by L. Ryandur, SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA correspondent: "To Bear With Dignity the Lofty Title...": "Let Us Reason Together... With Yuhannes Lepp, chief of the Reception Department of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Concerning the Rights and Responsibilities of Citizens of the USSR"; first paragraphs are source introduction.]

[Text] For quite some time now we have seen a gradual devaluation of words and concepts and erosion of high-flown phrases. Today we are witnessing a process in the opposite direction: the original meanings of words are being restored, and genuine actions are backing up words. At the same time the responsibility of the people uttering those words is increasing. High mutual standards are being set. We have learned to weigh each word we say and measure its worth. This is not being done at all times or by every individual. But even though it is difficult to begin learning again, we must complete this lesson, we must once again see the **meaning** behind words.

One of our dearest and most important concepts is Soviet citizenship, which defines an individual's state of belonging to his people, to his country. But are we always aware of what obligations that citizenship places upon us, of what rights it grants us? The subject of today's interview shares his opinion on this topic with our correspondent.

[Lepp] First of all I would like to quote from the preamble of the USSR Law On Soviet Citizenship, which states: "Citizens of the USSR are obligated to comply with the Constitution and with Soviet laws, to bear with dignity the lofty title of citizen of the USSR, to protect the interests of the Soviet State and help strengthen its might and authority, and to be loyal to their socialist Motherland."

In my opinion, that is a capacious and clear-cut definition. But do we always take the trouble to ponder its content? Indeed, are people familiar with this law at all?

Unfortunately, working in the Reception Department of our republic Supreme Soviet Presidium has convinced me that poor knowledge of civil laws, rights and responsibilities is quite widespread. I make that statement just on the basis of the letters, complaints and applications we receive: I can state without exaggeration that roughly three-quarters of them should not have been sent to us. Of course, there are situations in which the petitioner has exhausted all other possibilities and is simply forced to write to the highest authority. But oftentimes people write to the Supreme Soviet with requests pertaining to roof or plumbing repairs, or to housing distribution, without

first appealing to lower-level organizations with jurisdiction in those matters... Obviously they are following the principle of going straight to the "highest power" no matter what their request. But need I say how much time and effort are wasted redirecting applications to the appropriate organizations? Because the Supreme Soviet and its apparatus are simply unable to deal with every problem.

If such trivial matters were the extent of the problem, then we would have nothing to talk about. Unfortunately, ignorance of the law or incorrect interpretation of it often result in more serious situations. And in this respect the mass media, either wittingly or unwittingly, play a negative role. For example, just recently, on 25 September of this year, your newspaper published an article entitled "Pursued?," which stated, and I quote: "...and the ultimate means of emigrating from the USSR is to submit an application for deprivation of citizenship to the EsSSR Supreme Soviet. Yet no such applications have been received from Pentecostals." The article was devoted to individuals wishing to leave our country on religious grounds.

In the passage which I just quoted the author's incompetence is clearly evident. The fact is that deprivation of Soviet citizenship can only be granted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Furthermore, loss of citizenship is not a **means** of or grounds for exit.

[Question] But perhaps what was meant was that in situations of that nature the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium could serve as an intermediary between a citizen wishing to exit the USSR and our country's highest legislative organ.

[Answer] That interpretation is also incorrect. In such situations the function of intermediary is the responsibility of the Office of Visas and Registration [OVIR] under the republic Ministry of Internal Affairs, and people preparing to leave their motherland are aware of established procedure. They should be assisted in filling out documents by the public services office — in Tallinn it is located on Laykma Street, and it has a qualified specialist who can do everything that is necessary for the appropriate fee.

But the problem lies elsewhere: incorrectly interpreting that newspaper sentence as a "guide to action," Pentecostal believers literally attacked the Reception Department of the EsSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Whereas during the preceding nine months we had indeed received no such applications, in October alone we got 24, of which number several were group applications.

[Question] Since we are already on this subject, one which was previously, to put it mildly, not widely discussed in the press, perhaps it would be a good idea to talk about it in greater detail and attempt to understand

what motivates people to decide on such a fundamental change in their lives. Do people always realize the full consequences of that action? Do they understand where it can lead?

[Answer] One typical trait: virtually all such applications contain roughly the same phrase: "If there is no possibility of keeping my Soviet citizenship, then I request that I be deprived of it..." At the Reception Department we have a talk with everyone who submits this sort of application. And it is clear that the overwhelming majority of those exiting would like to keep their Soviet citizenship. Because that guarantees them the protection of the Soviet State. However, what protection can there be for them if they express disagreement with our country's Basic Law?!

As a rule, persons emigrating on religious grounds justify their actions by saying that their rights are allegedly being violated by the Constitution of the USSR. Specifically, they cite Article 52, which states: "Citizens of the USSR are guaranteed freedom of conscience, i.e. the right to profess any religion or none at all, to perform religious rituals or conduct atheist propaganda."

Why, they ask, may atheist propaganda be conducted, yet religious propaganda is forbidden? In this context this constitutional statement equalizes the rights of believers, who are free to perform religious rituals, and atheists, who cannot give voice to their convictions by any other means than through propaganda for their views. And the performance of religious rituals in churches and other buildings used for that purpose is essentially a form of religious propaganda.

Other reasons prompting believers to renounce their motherland — as they themselves assert — are offenses against their religious sentiments (at their place of residence, in school, by officials at their place of employment, and so forth). But the aforementioned article of the Constitution states: "Incitement of hostility and hatred in connection with religious beliefs is forbidden." Thus, in each specific instance a believer has a right to see justice done if someone, either intentionally or through ignorance of the law, infringes on his rights in this respect. The law guarantees equality of all citizens, one need only know the law and apply it skillfully.

I would particularly like to stress that knowledge of the law is obligatory for all. Because if some believer is treated improperly at work or at his place of residence on account of his religious beliefs, or if his children are treated improperly at school, then it is the direct obligation of the administration, party organizations, public organizations and educators to step in and prevent such occurrences. Indifference and complicity are impermissible; they can lead to extremely undesirable consequences. Even, we are convinced, to the point of causing an individual to decide to leave his motherland.

[Question] Well, if an individual has already reached that decision, can he nevertheless be denied exit?

[Answer] Yes. That question is regulated by the Law On Soviet Citizenship and a USSR Council of Ministers Decree adopted 28 August 1986, which states that exit is not permitted if an individual is privy to state secrets or there are other grounds relating to our country's security; also if the individual has unfulfilled obligations to state, cooperative or public organizations and to other citizens; if exit would result in infringement on the rights and legitimate interests of other citizens. Another reason for refusal could be criminal or administrative prosecution of the individual requesting permission to emigrate. An individual may also be refused if he has been convicted by a court or if the person who invites him to emigrate is living abroad in violation of Soviet laws governing exit and foreign residence. Grounds for refusal include violation of laws governing customs or currency transactions, reporting of false information about oneself, or failure to submit all the documents required for exit processing (including a letter of invitation from the person inviting the individual in question to emigrate).

[Question] And could you translate the dry language of official documents into everyday language?

[Answer] Certainly. For instance, if an individual lives with aged parents who have no one else to look after them, and they do not grant permission for that individual to emigrate. In that case the application would be refused. Or another example, a recent one. A woman was preparing to emigrate and had filled out all her documents. But in her customs declaration she "forgot" to declare 50 dollars which she had "acquired" somewhere — obviously not in a completely legal manner. The money was found in her suitcase during customs inspection. The result was that she was denied permission to exit... And I have not even mentioned those individuals who have been sentenced to prison terms. Although there have actually been cases in which the Reception Department has received applications from persons serving active prison sentences: they say, for instance, that they do not like the way they are being treated and request that they be deprived of Soviet citizenship and permitted to emigrate...

In one short interview it is impossible to answer all the questions which arise in this connection, and I can merely recommend that those who are interested in this matter make inquiries of the EsSSR Ministry of Internal Affairs OVIR; that office handles exit documents. The staff of the Office of Visas and Registration can give an expert reply to any question which might arise.

[Question] Many people who wish to emigrate from the USSR and have met with obstacles to doing so are apt to quote from the International Pact On Civil and Political Rights; they say that our country has violated the provisions of that document. Specifically, Article 12, Point 2, which states: "Every person has a right to leave any



country, including his or her own." The mass media of the bourgeois countries also never miss an opportunity to reproach us on this point. What is your opinion on this question?

[Answer] Yes, the "champions of human rights" do quote from that document rather frequently. But either out of ignorance or intentionally they end their quote at the same point you did. However, there is also a Point 3 in that same article: "The aforementioned rights are not subject to any limitations except those provided for by law and which are necessary for the preservation of state security, public order, the public's health and morals and the rights and liberties of others, and which are compatible with the other rights recognized by this Pact." Thus, our Law On Citizenship handles with the question of exit from the USSR in full compliance with that international accord. People simply need to read carefully and quote conscientiously from both documents.

[Question] At the start of this conversation you mentioned the public's lack of legal literacy. But not everyone can get a legal education, and one cannot consult with a legal specialist on every issue. What are your recommendations to our readers in this respect?

[Answer] All the decrees, laws and other documents adopted by our government which regulate relations between citizens and the state, regulate relations among citizens or otherwise have a bearing on life in our country are published in "Vedomosti Verkhovnogo Soveta Soyuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik" [Record of the USSR Supreme Soviet], to which a subscription can be obtained from any Soyuzpechat office. Bounds volumes of the "Vedomosti" in Russian and Estonian can be found in any library in our republic. Thus all the laws which we promulgate are absolutely accessible to everyone who has an interest in them. And people should take advantage of that fact. Let us not forget that knowledge of the law can prevent a great many misunderstandings and violations. And let us bear in mind that **ignorance of the law does not relieve one of responsibility**. I appeal to everyone: let us all be conscientious citizens of our Fatherland!

12825

#### **ESSR Supreme Soviet Examines Christians' Claims of Persecution**

18000088a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 14 Nov 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] A meeting of the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet was held on 12 November.

Questions of the 6th Session of the 11th Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR were examined.

The presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR decided to put proposals on the agenda for discussion by the 6th session of the 11th Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR.

Information that had come to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR related to the declarations of citizen believers, who are primarily members of Christian sects, was examined. The declarations show that recently sect members, interpreting the Christian faith differently, have activated their operations. The claimants blame a number of responsible parties and Soviet organs of violating the rights of believers in various ritual aspects. As an investigation showed, instances of infringements on the rights of believers were not substantiated. "The Resolution on Religious Associations," which was confirmed by a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR foresees that religious associations of citizen believers of all cults are subject to registration in the form of religious societies of groups of believers. Also planned is the system for registering these groups and for their implementing their religious rituals.

However, in violation of the aforementioned resolution some sects have not registered and their organizing bodies carry on religious propaganda in violation of the constitution of the Estonian SSR. In their religious propaganda, especially among minors, these sects utilize deception and intimidation by carrying out, even during the winter time, lengthy so-called sermons that exhaust the spiritual and physical forces of the people who come under their spell. As a result of similar sermons some people have found themselves in psychiatric hospitals due to discomposure of their nervous systems.

In addition to religious propaganda, one of the sects, which calls itself the congregation "The True Word," — "Toe sona" — carries out anti-humanistic propaganda that fuels hatred between people of different nationalities.

The presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR sharply condemned the actions of members of Christian sects which have followed the path of cultivating within their sects vile and amoral instincts, of attracting base and socially-immature youth to their illegal meetings. The ispolkoms of soviets of peoples' deputies have been required to strictly follow existing laws on functions of cult, to strengthen atheistic work in labor and school collectives, and to help people who have fallen under the influence of reactionary and anti-humanistic religious sects to free themselves from the religious narcotic.

8228

#### **Suggestions for Improved Atheist Work Viewed**

18000088b Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 11, Nov 87 pp 19-20(signed to press 28 Sep 87)

[Article by B. Pravotorov: "The Greatest Error"]

[Excerpts] Radical changes are taking place in many areas of propaganda. It is becoming an effective tool of



Glasnost and an important factor in social development. On a background of such changes the sections that have not been touched by renewal show up all the more rarely. The journal's reporters have turned to the theoreticians and practical workers of atheism with the question, "How is perestroika going?" on more than one occasion and have received a practically unchanged answer: "We are beginning, thinking..." In all honesty "round tables" and interrogations carried out by the editors have yielded little.

It is understandable — restructuring is no easy task, requiring a high level of responsibility and a sense of measure. Nervous bustle or attempts to solve problems that have been allowed to accumulate for years in a cavalier swoop are inappropriate here. However, even drawn-out meditation which earlier seemed to be the unhurriedness of the wise man during such moments acts as a hindrance to transformations whose time has come. M. S. Gorbachev has called the fear of making an error that fetters the will the greatest error.

Let us try to continue our conversation about the restructuring of atheistic work without fearing that we do not have answers, regulated by theoretical thought and practice, to all of life's questions. The experience gathered after April will be a support for us which will become the methodology for renewing socialism.

Honestly speaking, we have been puzzled by the position of a group of ideological workers expressed during the spring of this year at a meeting with the editors in Tashkent: "Our atheism is in no need of restructuring!"

Can it be that all the social sciences have lagged behind and torn away from life and that only the theory of atheism has remained equal to the task? But everyone remembers, to put it mildly, the simplified concepts concerning the paths and schedules for the dying away of religion. Can it be that the "religious wave" has overwhelmed all propaganda directions and that only atheists have avoided this disease? Then why are classrooms of atheist propaganda usually filled with atheists while believers try to circumvent them? And why, as noted justifiably by the magazine "Kommunist" (1987, Number 12), with the growth in the interest of the public in the sources and essence of religious-moral quests, has "the authority of the opinion of the professional researcher on religion" decreased? And most importantly, why has the level of religiosity decreased so slowly among the population, and in a number of regions, including in the one where it was stated, "Our atheism does not need restructuring!" why did it not decrease but actually increase? We should deal honestly with all of this.

An understanding of the need for change alone gives rise to the persistent search for ways to improve the situation and the roots of negative phenomena. We see how boldly economists, historians and sociologists bring to light the lustrous armor of history, revealing those of its layers in

which occurred the deformation of socialist principles and the conservation of management methods which were suitable for one historical period and unsuitable for another. How does our atheistic thought assess the path we have followed? So far there has been silence. Yet there have been many victories which have made our country the first mass atheistic society in history, as well as serious errors and mistakes. The manifestation of lawlessness and repression of the 1930's, which struck painfully against believers and the clergy, had its "ideological foundation" in the work of some atheists.

Others say that we are silent. The striving of foreign clerics to blame atheism for destroying spirituality and national culture is understandable.

Some atheists were very insulted by several remarks by V. Astafyev regarding the barbaric attitude toward the ancient place of worship, seeing in this the apologia of religion. But when L. Leonov recalled the warning of Goethe about the fact that the atheistic axe in the hands of the militant ignoramus is becoming the greatest cultural disaster, those same atheists remained silent, offended. However, there is no reason to be offended by the truth, as incidentally there is no reason for these atheists to identify themselves with militant ignoramuses or zealous administrators who destroy the memorials of national culture in the name of the "improvement" of city lands. Atheism arises out of a powerful tree of culture; it was born in order to free religion from its mystical extraneous layers during the ideological opposition of religion. And who besides atheists knows that administrative pressure and a power "war against religion" is one of the factors that has hindered the natural historical process of dying off.

I feel that atheists can play an important role in the humanistic campaign begun by the creative intelligentsia to preserve the spiritual legacy of the past. In turn the voices of cultural activists, historians and art critics must ring louder in atheist propaganda.

We can ask whether the framework of atheism is becoming too broad. Doesn't this type of approach lead away from the direct criticism of religion?

Let's not throw away opinions that do not coincide with ours. But even if we accept the logic of our opponents and reduce atheism to a criticism of religion, against which, as we know, both K. Marx and F. Engels objected, in this case too an expansion of the boundaries of atheism will be justified. Religion long ago left the course of the traditional church canons; its doctrines and sermons are more and more sated with philosophical moral-ethical and social problematics. The church reacts quickly to the pain and alarm of the times. "Theology of freedom," "theology of politics," "ecothology," and "theology of labor," — these are different and sometimes contradictory doctrines, but all of them are the same in their striving to reflect the realities of modern life and to become involved in its movement.

In such a situation can atheists be limited to criticizing religious dogma? And another thing. Can professional atheists achieve effective criticism of religion alone without attracting ecologists and politicians, cultural agents and ethicists and representatives of the natural sciences?

Unfortunately, from this side atheists get little help. It would be simplest, of course, to blame the creative intelligentsia of passivity. But we should also think about what atheists themselves must do. After all today such problems will not be solved either by shouting or by orders.

The winds of change are especially evident in the church's social doctrine. The modernization of this doctrine has on the one hand eroded the church's foundation and on the other hand strengthened its vitality. And why hide a sin, it has become more difficult to criticize ideological doctrine and the activities of the modern church. Theoretical, academic atheism overcome these difficulties on the whole. But mass atheistic propaganda often circumvents such problems, giving preference to the travelled path of criticizing traditional dogma.

Incidentally, this type of criticism is evidently also needed. After all, in addition to modern forms of "intellectual" religion there also exists fundamentalism and the adherence of a significant portion of believers to church canon. However, even these forms of religiosity, I feel, are explained to a large degree by the needs of contemporary life rather than by the conservative nature of religion. It is no secret that many people react unhealthily to the attempt to change the content of work, to alter their lifestyle or to internationalize spiritual life. In the age-old traditions of the church they seek a factor that stabilizes the psyche, that embodies the indissoluble ties of the times and the continuity of generations. Here we need not only logically-built arguments but also the reinforcement of the atheistic word with corresponding practice. In all cases an ideological, theoretical campaign should be carried out against real and not invented or coarse or deceptive enemies.

All of our propaganda is directed at the individual. A knowledge of his needs and interests, expectations and hopes is no less important than a knowledge of religion and atheism. Are we taking into account the changes that are occurring in the spiritual aspect of the believer? Are we suffering from intellectual arrogance? Just yesterday most believers were inferior to atheists in level of education and public activeness, but today a new type of believer has already developed — an educated person who knows religious dogma well, a socially-oriented and ideologically-active person. Such believers try to prevail, to propagandize their views although at the same time they express a considerable amount of criticism against the dogma of their religion and the activities of the clergy. They have grown up under the conditions of the Soviet structure, are committed to their homeland and have a developed feeling of civil worth.

Are atheists prepared to polemicize against such believers? I think many are not. Meanwhile, under the circumstances of democratization of public life the voices of people who think differently, including believers, will sound more frequently and loudly when discussing urgent questions.

This gives rise to new requirements not only in the content, but also in form and tone of atheistic propaganda. Undoubtedly dialogue, discussion and disputes will become more and more widespread. Our point of view is that dialogues and disputes, even if they sometimes end in our failure and this is completely possible, will be useful in the long run. They will shake up the dogmatic, will force people to think creatively and will highlight shortcomings more sharply, and this means that they will help us to be rid of these shortcomings more quickly. Such disputes will help people to think independently and to defend their views and convictions without accepting words thoughtlessly on faith. For communists, the followers of a materialistic world view, these qualities are of great value.

If we call things by name, the two ideologies — communist and religious — are a reality which, judging by everything, will exist for a long time yet. We must learn to dispute and propagandize our points of view so that the unity of our society and its moral-political cohesion become stronger. For this reason it would seem that the pedagogical and ethical problem — the quality of polemics, tact and respect for the enemy — acquires political significance. But this is only one of many problems in the dialogue between atheists and believers.

The extensive field in the dialogue between atheists and believers involves the problem of man and his spiritual-cultural and moral orientation. The more the individual is freed from the press of material needs, from the question, "What shall I live on?," the more acutely arises another no less complicated question, "How should I live?" The problem of the meaning of life and happiness, of duty and conscience today attracts the most intent attention. Religion long ago fixed upon this moral-personal sphere, but mass atheism, judging by everything, has lingered behind.

Atheists have basically freed themselves of illusions concerning educational activities and do not attempt to alter thought through propaganda alone. Everyone understands that it is essential to change life itself. It is the "imperfection" of life that today sometimes pushes the individual into the bosom of religion, which in its own manner helps the individual to bear the bitterness of loneliness or the pain of losing a close person and to find some hope.

We have touched on only some of the questions involving the restructuring of atheistic work, and the ways to deal with these questions have only been indicated. This is an invitation to a sincere discussion, the need for which developed long ago.

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**Kharchev Interviewed on Church-State Relations,  
Other Issues**

18000139 Moscow *NAUKA I RELIGIYA* in Russian  
No 11, Nov 87 pp 21-23 (signed to press 28 Sept 87)

[Interview of K. M. Kharchev, chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs at the USSR Council of Ministers, by Igor Achildiyev, department chief of *NAUKA I RELIGIYA*: "Guarantees of Freedom"; time and place not specified; first two paragraphs are *NAUKA I RELIGIYA* introduction]

[Excerpts] All of us see: Restructuring now encompasses the economy, the social and spiritual sphere of society, and provides a powerful stimulus to the development of the historic creativity of the masses. How is it reflected in the relations of state and church, atheists and citizens who are believers?

This and other questions of the department chief of the journal, Igor Achildiyev, are answered by the chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs at the USSR Council of Ministers, Konstantin Mikhaylovich Kharchev.

[Answer] The absolute majority of believers resolutely and actively support the party's policy aimed at the radical renewal of our society. They see in restructuring the concern of the party and the state for the improvement of the life of the people, for the preservation of peace, for the confirmation of the principles of social justice, and for a clean moral atmosphere of society. Such an attitude creates favorable conditions for the development of the activeness of believers in productive and public life.

All of these actions are perceived by many believers<sup>1</sup> and religious figures as the development of the Leninist principles in the interrelations of state and church, atheists and believers.

During the first months and years after October, there developed in the country, as is well-known, an extremely contradictory and in its own way unique situation. The absolute majority of ordinary believers appeared in the ranks of the army of the revolution—among those who established and defended Soviet power.

At the same time, in the camp of the counterrevolution there proved to be the greater part of the clergy and the leadership of the church, which enjoyed a certain authority among the believers and was based on the strength of centuries-old traditions. All of this not only called forth the departure of the masses from religion, but also gave rise to difficult and dramatic and vital collisions and created the psychological soil for various sorts of excesses.

A decisive role in the normalization of the relations between state and church was played by the considered and well-weighed policy of the Soviet regime. Having destroyed the reactionary legislation, the new state granted the church a real possibility to focus its efforts on the satisfaction of the religious needs of believers. At the same time, where the believers themselves within the framework of religious associations joined in the solution of social problems, those initiatives received approval and support.

Taking into account religious convictions, Soviet legislation allowed the possibility of freeing believers from the performance of civic duties connected with the performance of military service, replacing them, as they said then, with service on the medical front.

In a word, the Leninist norms that determine the interrelationship between state and church and their practical implementation in principle excluded any war with believers and priests because of their religious convictions. It is another matter when we are talking about actions directed against the power of the people. Then all necessary measures were taken for the defense of national interests, including measures of an extraordinary character. The trouble, however, is that, when the necessity of restrictions and prohibitions called forth by extraordinary circumstances passed, many of them continued to operate.

[Question] Today the restructuring organically includes the intensification of democracy and the expansion of glasnost, and a decisive restoration of Leninist principles is under way where they were violated. What that is new in this connection is appearing in the activity of the Council?

[Answer] Above all, we are striving, as the party demands, to make a sober and realistic assessment of the present-day religious situation. During the years of socialist construction radical changes in public consciousness took place. And now already it is not the believers, but people who in one form or another share a materialist world view who constitute the absolute majority of the population. True, the mass departure from religion, as this was during the first years of the Soviet regime, is not noted now. But in a number of regions there is also an increase in believers.

If we talk about the church and religious associations, to all intents and purposes they all strive to integrate the socialist ideal in their theological doctrines, they show willingness of active and multifaceted cooperation—both in foreign and in domestic policy—with public and state organizations, and they express the desire to take part, within their powers, in the positive changes that are taking part in Soviet society.

Yes, the church condemns such negative phenomena as drug addiction and crime, alcoholism and drunkenness, comes out in support of the preservation of monuments

of national culture, the strengthening of the family, and the maintenance of the purity of the environment. And the matter is not limited only to sermons. The church donated more than 3 million rubles to help those suffering from the accident in Chernobyl, and the donations are continuing. Annually the Peace Fund receives more than 30 million rubles from it, the Fund for the Preservation of Cultural Monuments—about 5 million rubles, and for the reconstruction and restoration of religious buildings, of which 1,786 are also historical-cultural monuments—approximately 45 million rubles.

Some people try to explain all this as “time-serving” and “aiding and abetting” of the authorities. During the years that have passed after October a new type of believer, dedicated to the ideals of socialism and to his Soviet Homeland, has appeared, a man whose interests go far beyond the limits of exclusively religious aspirations. Now he, as I already said, is coming out actively for socialism and for its radical renewal. So that the spiritual shepherds, in supporting the restructuring and our peaceful initiatives, are not “accommodating themselves”, but are carrying out their moral duty, expressing in their own way the vital interests of the believers.

At the same time I would like to note: A certain part of the clergy and the flock following it try to use the policy of expanding glasnost and democracy to obtain prerogatives of a special character, and frequently also for attacks on basic provisions of legislation on cults and for violations of the USSR Constitution. They understand freedom of conscience to mean religious activity not limited by anything. Although in most cases, such actions do not have an anti-Soviet and anti-socialist character, objectively—which is clear to every sensible person—they lead to the collision of the interests of believing and non-believing citizens.

However, only an insignificant part of the clergy occupies reactionary and extremist positions. There are such priests also in Orthodoxy (in particular among the former Uniate priests), as well as in Catholicism and in Islam, but for the most part these are the representatives of the so-called Council of Churches of the Evangelical Christians-Baptists, and extremist elements from among the Pentecostals, the Adventists-Reformers, and Jehovah's Witnesses.

Moreover, the extremists in religion, as a rule, complain about their unequal position in terms of rights compared with other confessions and citizens. Upon verification, however, it turns out exactly the opposite. Enjoying all constitutional rights, they desire for themselves special privileges and the release from the observance of a number of the most important civic duties.

There are also simply fanatics who, shutting themselves up in a religious environment and striving to escape from participation in the solution of burning social problems, do harm both to themselves and to their families.

[Question] Konstantin Mikhaylovich, you have said a great deal about the religious situation, but, I beg your pardon, somehow very generally. Our reader now has a skeptical attitude toward formulas of the type less is more. He wants to judge everything on the basis of precise data. M. S. Gorbachev, in emphasizing the special role of glasnost, said that “the truth cannot be less or more. Truth is one, and it must be complete.”

[Answer] All right, let us talk in the language of facts and figures. The Council conducted a thorough analysis of the data we have available for the past 25 years.<sup>2</sup> The following picture takes shape. The number of religious associations has decreased by almost 34 percent. More than 15,000 of them still remain in the country. There has been some decrease in the number of baptisms for the country as a whole. However, in the Moldavian, Tajik, and Estonian union republics and in some oblasts of the RSFSR and the Ukraine there has been an increase in religious rites. We are talking, above all, about the religious rites of burials. In the republics of Central Asia, in Azerbaijan, and in the Northern Caucasus, almost all the dead from among the indigenous nationalities are buried in accordance with religious ritual.

As you see, the church has extensive possibilities for the satisfaction of the religious needs of the believers, it possesses a solid material base, and it has more than 25,000 priests in its ranks. The monetary receipts of religious associations of all confessions doubled in 70 years and reached 260 million rubles. More than 200 worship buildings have been acquired, built, and reconstructed by the church. Spiritual educational institutions of the country make it possible to recruit church cadres. In the 1960's and even in the 1970's, the basic category of the clergy were people 60 years of age and older, now—from 40 to 60.<sup>3</sup> There has been an increase in their professional level, more than 80 percent of the episcopate now have a higher theological education.

Thus, in our society there now exists a relatively large group of people which is oriented toward religious values and an impressive system of religious organizations who satisfy the specific needs of this group. Such is the reality.

[Question] The approaching 1000th anniversary of the introduction of Christianity in Russia is also a reality. The readers of the journal have quite a few questions here. Some consider it an occasion for celebration for our entire country. Some people repeat the fabrication that this jubilee in our country is being prohibited and hushed up. What, Konstantin Mikhaylovich, would be your answer to our readers?

[Answer] I would not begin to count this date among the national holidays. This is a holiday of a number of Christian confessions that exist in our country, of the Russian Orthodox Church. It would be a mistake to deny the positive role of Orthodoxy in the expansion of the political and cultural relations of Russia with the West,

in the development of the written language, architecture and painting. The church played its role in the formation of the centralized state, and the merits of some of its representatives in patriotic matters are indisputable.

At the same time I would remind you: The Orthodox Church conducted a battle against free-thinking in Russia, destroyed ancient monuments of its pre-Christian culture, and took part in the oppression of millions of adherents of a different faith and non-Russians living in the Russian Empire. Let us also not forget the fact that the Orthodox Church not only loyally served the ruling classes and tsarism and helped them to hold in servitude the working masses, but also itself in the course of time became the largest landowner and exploiter of the Russian people.

It goes without saying that no one prohibits the Orthodox Church to celebrate its anniversary. All talk about this is pure slander. I will say that, on the part of the Council for Religious Affairs, quite a bit of assistance is being extended to the Orthodox Church in the conduct and organization of its holiday—in the publication of art albums and guides, religious texts, in the organization of the anniversary festivities themselves, etc. I recall the fact that the Danilov Monastery in Moscow was turned over to the church by the Soviet government on the threshold of the anniversary of Orthodoxy. All of this is being done in complete accordance with our legislation on cults.

[Question] Above you talked about the violation of the legislation on cults by the clergy and believers. But do we not sin against truth if we are silent about cases of disregard of the Leninist principles of the attitude to believers on the part of persons endowed with official authority?

[Answer] There are, of course, also such deviations. However regrettable it is to talk about this, but the desire to force the process of the departure of the masses from religion gave rise to ugly phenomena in a number of places: The unlawful limitations and restrictions of the rights of believers. This is manifested, let us say, in production, where believers receiving material rewards for shock work in full were at times not encouraged with moral support. Difficult situations exist which are connected, let us say, with a stay in places of deprivation of freedom. Here the authorities frequently propose that

criminal punishment gives them the right to deprive imprisoned believers of the possibility to use the Bible or Koran and to seek seclusion for prayer. This, it goes without saying, is illegal. A part of the soviet and public workers have developed the aspiration to embellish the religious situation by hampering the registration of associations of believers. Administrative zeal, by creating the illusion of well-being in its rayon or oblast, has not only concealed the true state of affairs, but thereby inflicted harm to civic, moral, if you will, philosophical education. Determined pressure has engendered conflicts about which our press has more than once reported, especially in the past few years.

It must be said that at times the actions of the locals organs of power reach the point of absurdities: Obstacles are placed in inviting a priest to a person who is dying, the ringing of bells is prohibited, there have been cases where the repair and electrification of prayer-houses have been refused.

What administrative-force pressure or "bury-your-head-in-the-sand" policy in questions of the registration of religious associations leads to, is indicated by the fact of the relatively wide spread of so-called self-styled mullahs in the regions of the traditional dissemination of Islam. They perform a significant part of the religious rites, manage the cemeteries, organize utter extortions from believers, and some people try to turn the religious sermon into a sermon of nationalism.

The party and the state have more than once resolutely condemned that sort of "war against religion" as a violation of socialist legality, civil rights and freedoms, and Leninist principles of the relationship to religion and believers. It goes without saying, our Council, finding out about every such violation, strives to correct the matter. [4 The work of the Council also needs restructuring, the clearing of the outgrowths of bureaucratism, greater flexibility and efficiency, and initiative, including in the sphere of the improvement of law enforcement practice. Evidently, the legislation on cults itself is also in need of improvement.

#### Footnotes

1. Today believers in the country constitute about 10-20 percent of the population (depending on the region).
- 2.

Table 1. Number of Religious Associations

Confession	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986
Russian Orthodox Church	11,742	7,523	7,274	7,038	7,007	6,794
Catholic Church	1,179	1,116	1,087	1,070	1,102	1,099
Islam	2,307	1,820	1,087	1,069	954	751



Table 1. Number of Religious Associations

Judaism	259	238	220	181	130	109
Evangelical Christians-Baptists	2,917	3,054	2,964	2,981	3,078	2,976
Pentecostals	1,006	904	965	775	863	843
Seventh-Day Adventists	399	372	350	381	434	445
Jehovah's Witnesses	607	468	480	411	411	378
Total for the USSR (Including Other Denominations)	22,698	17,507	16,323	15,687	15,713	15,036

Table 2. Religious Rituals (According to Data of Religious Organizations)

Type of Ritual	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986
Baptisms	1,017,228	965,188	808,478	830,596	774,747
Including:					
Baptisms of School Age Children	10,261	29,335	25,682	40,253	40,469
Baptisms of Adults	—	21,680	26,818	45,178	51,864
Confirmation	—	23,049	24,383	27,333	25,145
Wedding Ceremonies	60,516	79,356	74,988	106,259	79,840
Burial Services	848,805	990,618	1,096,190	1,125,058	1,179,051

3. The old age of the priests in the 1960's and earlier was explained, to a significant degree, by the fact that long interruptions were permitted in the training of new priests, as well as by other reasons, which are directly connected with the period of the cult of the personality that has been condemned by our party. During the last 15 years, the number of students of spiritual educational institutions doubled and constitutes more than 2,500, including about 800 external students.

4. The processes of democratization and glasnost that have been engendered by restructuring have already begun to have an effect on the religious situation and find reflection in its statistics. Thus, after the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, 173 religious associations of various confessions were registered (at the same time, 107 religious associations were removed from registration and disintegrated). A total of 138 buildings for prayer purposes were acquired, have been built and reconstructed (including of the Russian Orthodox Church—35, the Evangelical Christians-Baptists—49, the Seventh-Day Adventists—12, the Pentecostals—9, and the Muslims—11).

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### Tajik Official Lists Areas With High Level Of Religious Activity

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian on 26 December 1987 carries on page 2 a 1600-word speech by G.P. Pallayev, chairman

of the Presidium of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet, delivered at the Eighth Plenum of the Tajik CP Central Committee. Among other things, Pallayev addresses the issue of religious activity in the republic: "The religious situation in our republic remains tense. Many young people, women, and some members of the intelligentsia are influenced by Islamic traditions. This is especially true of Kulyab, Kurgan-Tyube and Leninabad Oblasts, and of Ordzhonikidzeabadskiy, Garmskiy, Komsomolabadskiy, Leninskiy, and other rayons. There are more than 160 self-proclaimed mullahs active in the rayons of Kulyab Oblast, organizing illegal religious ceremonies, collective religious services, and the construction of houses of worship. This year 40 newlywed couples were married here by clergymen, i.e., without registering at ZAGS agencies."

### Interest In Revival of Christmas Carolling Expressed

18000176 Kiev LITERATURNAYA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 31 Dec 87 p 5

[Editorial Report] The 31 December 1987 issue of LITERATURNAYA UKRAYINA features 3 articles appearing on page 5 which indicate a renewed interest in the religious ritual of Christmas carolling. A letter signed by Stepan Pushik underscores the importance of carolling as a precious depository of ancient traditions harkening back to pre-Christianity. He attests to the fact that carols are being studied, composed, committed to memory and sung to this day in the Ukraine. A second letter signed by seven individuals takes a strong stand on the need to go



back to Ukraine's rich cultural roots and enrich present-day life by reviving the practice of Christmas carolling among the youth of Ukraine. A third letter, signed by Boris Komara, is a warm reminiscence of New Year's celebrations in the past. Among the author's fondest

memories are those of carollers' voices resounding from every corner in the village. Komara goes on to describe the solemn religious significance of these holiday rituals for other villagers.

## Issue of Russian-Kirghiz Bilingualism Debated

**Urban Kirghiz Know Native Tongue Poorly**  
*183000035 Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in  
Russian 15 Sep 87 p 3*

[Article by A. Orusbayev, deputy director for sciences, Institute of Language and Literature at the Kirghiz SSR Academy of Sciences, under the rubric: "Internationalism—Our Strength": "Bilingualism: The Search for Harmony"]

[Excerpts] It would hardly be an exaggeration to state that language, being a manifestation of national intellectual culture, represents a unique and universal means of expressing the various forms of social consciousness. Given that this is so, any national language possesses a real and potential capability for establishing mutual understanding among people and nations. Understanding that this is its function is exceptionally important not so much from the scientific aspect as much as from the position of everyday needs for the interrelations of the people in social settings which vary according to content and volume—the family, the working collectives, and in society as a whole.

In the conditions of our republic, where representatives of 112 nations and peoples dwell, among which there are dozens of ethnic and national groups, the positive facts in national-language experience must be made part of the arsenal for working in international education and in raising the culture of international relations. And notwithstanding significant drawbacks and social stagnation, there are quite a few such facts in Kirghiziya. Let us turn to such a fact as Kirghiz-Russian and Russian-Kirghiz bilingualism.

The carriers of the first type of bilingualism are the Kirghiz people. The strivings of the Kirghiz people to learn to speak Russian were expressed as early as the beginning of this century in the appeal to the chief inspector of native schools in Turkestan Kray: "...Times have now changed and it is not enough to teach the children in the old way; the necessity has arisen to educate them in Russian learning and literacy." After the revolution, in accordance with a decree of the party and Soviet organs of Kirghiziya, the Russian language was introduced to the educational system as a mandatory academic subject.

Preparing for the Republic Scientific-Practical Conference

Currently about a third of the indigenous population of the republic is bilingual; for them the Russian language has become the basic, and in a number of cases the sole means of intercourse in certain spheres of production, science, and documentation; in party and state organs; and in contacts with the union republics and foreign countries. In many social-production spheres, multinational cadres work, for which in addition to their native

language, practical mastery of a common national language is an objective necessity. It is commonly known that the Russian language has historically become the language for international intercourse among the peoples of the USSR, since, in the words of Lenin, "The needs of the economic turnover always forces those who live in the same state (so long as they wish to live together) to learn the language of the majority" (Lenin, "Complete Collection of Works," Vol 24, p 116).

But nevertheless the question surfaces, will the representatives of the indigenous nationality succeed in mastering the Russian language? No, not entirely. Approximately 82 percent of the Kirghiz and 31 percent of the Russian live in rural areas; moreover, they are settled compactly for the most part: in some localities the former are greatly predominant, and in others, the latter. Such settlement, which came about naturally, does little to help successful development of bilingualism, since in such circumstances there is no Kirghiz-Russian linguistic environment, nor ethnocultural interaction to the extent necessary for the natural development of bilingualism. Proof of this is the extremely poor knowledge of the Russian language and Russian ethnoculture among the pupils in Kirghiz schools, which is noted annually at VUZ entrance examinations, in service in the army, in applying for jobs and in the work process itself at plants and factories and in other branches of the national economy.

An altogether different linguistic situation has evolved in the cities with a characteristic multinational populace (except for Naryn, where the populace is almost all the same nationality), and above all in the capital of the republic. In Frunze the Kirghiz amount to a little more than 12 percent; Russians account for 54 percent; and the remaining 34 percent is comprised of Germans, Uighurs, Dungans, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Jews, Ukrainians, Tatars, Azerbaijanians, and representatives of other nations. Russian is the common language for intercourse in the working international collectives of enterprises, administrative-economic institutions, party and Soviet organs, and educational institutions (with the exception of the Kirghiz Philology Department at the Kirghiz State University and for national types of art). Its broad social functions have promoted successful development of Kirghiz-Russian bilingualism; moreover, the level of mastery of the Russian language by the urban Kirghiz is extremely high.

Nevertheless, calling this a harmonious type of bilingualism (under which the Kirghiz know their native language and the language of international intercourse equally well) would be stretching things to the limit. It has long been noted that in many urban Kirghiz families, especially among the young people, the native language has been lost or is losing its function even for intercourse within the family—which is grounds for justifiable alarm for the fate of the native language. This characterizes the

state of culture of intranational and international relations, and directly and indirectly reflects the current level of international intercourse and patriotic education of the workers in the facts of developing bilingualism.

Thus, whereas for the rural Kirghiz it is extremely important to master the Russian language, for the urban Kirghiz it is no less important to master their native language.

Language, in addition to its function of intercourse, has an educational function as well, which is manifested principally in the attitude of the people toward mastering the language of another nationality. Interest in another language is characteristic of a person of high culture, for it provides access to the spiritual values of the other peoples. N.K. Krupskaya, in working out problems of the international education of the upcoming generation, stressed that "One cannot foist an alien language on another; but the language which a child hears around him is no longer alien for him... Therefore **it is important to study one's native language, as well as the predominant language of the surround populace**" (emphasis ours—A.O.).

These thoughts of N.K. Krupskaya are pertinent today as well, when the development of language planning has begun in the republic as a part of a complex of measures for fundamentally improving work in the area of national and international relations. In this connection, questions of Russian-Kirghiz bilingualism should also find reflection in the context of language planning. The given type of bilingualism, in comparison with our times, was much more widely practiced among the non-Kirghiz populace prior to the revolution and thereafter, right up to the 1950's. Along with the Russian language, the Kirghiz language was taught in the republic schools as an academic subject, which promoted not only harmonious development of bilingualism, it also served in the final analysis the cause of establishing and strengthening interpersonal and international ties. However, at the end of the 1950's, the Kirghiz language was volunteeristically removed from the school schedule and, having thus abrogated the Leninist principle of voluntary study of languages (See the words of N.K. Krupskaya quoted above), turned the matter of studying the Kirghiz language to the students and to their parents: if you want the child to master the language of his Kirghiz ancestors, you may do so; if you do not, it is not necessary; but you see knowledge of a foreign language is mandatory, or else the child will not receive a certificate of graduation.

Such an approach to education by those sorry excuses for local politicians had far-reaching negative consequences, which were reflected in the subsequent language situation and in national interrelations. It is unbelievable, but it is a fact: the overwhelming majority of the methodological scholars who were working out the problems of teaching the Russian language in the Kirghiz schools—have not learned the native language of the pupils. And

it did not enter into the head of a single one of the specialists at the Kirghiz Pedagogical Scientific Research Institute or the NIIPRYaSh [probably, Scientific Research Institute on Teaching the Russian Language in Primary Schools] of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, that, for example, it would be appropriate for a graduate student in the methodology of teaching a language of international intercourse in Kirghiz schools not only to master, but also to pass a candidate's examination in the native language of the pupils, if we truly want progressive academic-methodological thought to be developed in the republic.

I am profoundly convinced that the Kirghiz and Russian languages must coexist harmoniously and that each of them should fulfill its own social functions in accordance with the national-language policy of the CPSU. At the same time, the Russian language, which has the status of an international and world language, naturally has many more functions than the Kirghiz, which has the status of a national language.

Bilingualism is not only a method of intercourse, it is also a means of international education, and for this reason demands purposeful and well-reasoned propaganda among the multinational populace of the republic.

In conclusion it should be stressed that so long as national consciousness and national culture exist, sociolinguistic and educational aspects of language will continue to pose new problems for language majors, politicians, philosophers and sociologists. A mature and balanced solution to them will promote harmonious development of national-Russian and Russian-national bilingualism.

#### **More Kirghiz-Language Schools Unnecessary**

*Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian*  
4 Oct 87 pp 2-3

[Article by G. Petrukhin, member Kirghiz Writers' Union, Frunze, under the rubric: "Problems of Internationalism: At the Crossroads of Opinion": "Not in Words But in Deeds": "In Preparation for the Republic Scientific-Practical Conference"]

[Text] Discussion of the problems of international education of the workers has been going on for a long time now in our press, at meetings, and in oral conversations. The problem is indisputably an important one, and came to a head long ago. For decades we were convinced that the national question in our country had been solved completely and for all time, and that there was nothing to talk about. But the nations developed, and no one paid any attention to the problems which arose and piled up. And now they have seen them.

For some reason, however, all the passion was concentrated basically around only one aspect: the study of the Kirghiz and Russian languages. It is true that everything comes down to the fact that Russian is a medium of

international intercourse; there is no quarrel here, and I would only add that Russian is in addition a door which opens onto the world, and that through it we open to ourselves the culture of the peoples of the foreign countries and show them our own achievements. But that, incidentally, is not news to anyone either.

But, you see, with the Kirghiz language the matter turned out to be more complex. Towering around it are both well-founded judgements and, in my view, some that are far-fetched. It goes without saying that it is abnormal that Kirghiz young people quite often know their own native language poorly—we speak primarily of the city dwellers and especially those who live in Frunze. It is an indisputable fact that one's native language is a concentrated expression of national culture and national self-consciousness; this, in the final analysis, is a philosophical question. I believe that native language and literature are poorly taught in Kirghiz schools, although I note parenthetically that the Russian language and literature are taught not a bit better in Russian schools. In general the question of the methodology of teaching language—any language!—in the schools appears to be an altogether gloomy one.

In my own life it came about that I studied German, English, Kazakh, Latin, and Old Russian; although I haven't mastered a single one of them in the true sense, all my teachers were satisfied with my successes and even awarded me "fivers." They taught us to read and translate with the aid of a dictionary, rather than teaching conversation. Today languages are taught no better if, of course, one does not consider special schools. Much needs to be changed, and in this sense the letter of Dzhumash Koychumanov, published by Chingiz Aytmatov (*SK* 24/09/87) is remarkable—it contains the extremely valuable advice of an experienced teacher. Incidentally, Chingiz Aytmatov's commentary on the "Letters About Internationalism" published in that same issue of the paper gave rise to exceptionally great interest and, one must assume, will serve their purpose and will provide a powerful impetus to the readers' thought on this extremely urgent topic of the day. Taking advantage of the fact that conversations on the problems of internationalism are more and more assuming the nature of a discussion—which is so natural in our times!—I myself would like to express certain thoughts about things which seem to be to be controversial.

You see, for example, that same Dzhumash Koychumanov says that as a result of poor instruction in the Kirghiz language in the national schools their graduates have a poor grasp of the fundamentals of science. Is it not possible that they simply do a poor job of teaching physics, chemistry, mathematics, biology, and so on? Or the following premise: If you respect my people, speak in its language. Whatever the connection is here, I cannot grasp it. I cannot even read French; but does that mean that I do not respect Frenchmen?

In my youth, when I was working on *Komsomol'tse Kirgizii*, I would frequently visit the construction site of the Toktogul'skaya GES. At that time it was only getting under way, and I vividly recall the several prefabricated panel barracks, which at that time made up what is now the city of Kara Kul, and the explosions on the right bank of the Naryn; they were laying a section of road. And you see, there was a veritable Babylon at Naryngidroenergo-stroy [probably, Naryn River Hydroelectric Power Engineering Construction Association]: there were people from Siberia and Moldavia, the Trans-Caucasus and the Baltic Littoral... And the overwhelming majority of them did not know a single word in Kirghiz, although the "Toktogulka" became a permanent symbol of the friendship of the nations of our country. And at that time I wrote about a Kirghiz excavator operator, Kadyrbek Anarbayev; about a Belorussian, Vladimir Marochkin; and about a Russian girl from Andizhan—I don't even remember her name. And I wasn't the least interested in their nationality; what interested me was their work and their lives. Such was the spirit of the construction project.

It goes without saying that this in no way means that I am opposed to the study of the Kirghiz language by Russians, Dungans or Germans. Let them study it, if they have the desire and the opportunity—that would be useful for them personally: any knowledge enriches a person, but knowing even one language in addition to one's native tongue enriches a person a hundredfold. Moreover, this is an everyday process. The Russian populace of Naryn Oblast as a rule has mastered the Kirghiz language, which is there the language of the majority; and many Russians along the shores of Issyk-Kul, in Osh and Talas, know Kirghiz and actively use it in their everyday life. But one should not forget that this is a voluntary matter, brought about by a person's internal needs and to a still greater degree by the national surroundings in which he lives. You can see how it turns out: during the last election campaign for the local soviets, a young agitator came up to me and began to speak animatedly in Kirghiz. Taken by surprise, I did not understand him, and he then and there switched to flawless Russian. Who "did not respect" whom in this episode?

And further: It is constantly stated that there are no privileged languages in our country; Lenin is quoted on this account, and the impression is created as if it is not so that in practical terms, the Kirghiz language is the injured party. Training in the Kirghiz language is poorly set up; but one will not solve this problem in Moscow—this is an internal matter for the republic authorities and for the local populace. There is an appropriate department in the republic Academy of Sciences, a Pedagogical Institute, and departments in the VUZ's; there is a Terminological Commission; there are the mass information media; and finally there are the national cadres of teachers. What are we breaking a lance over? The unfortunate thing is that those very people who must do the job are not taking part in the discussion. I do not

know what sort of resolutions are being adopted by the Frunze gorispolkom, Minpros [Ministry of Education] or the Council of Ministers. The verbal pot is boiling, but things are at a standstill.

What are we talking about? In Frunze there is only one Kirghiz school. That is not enough. But how many do they need? The fact that at that single school classes are being held in three shifts, is indisputably scandalous. For that matter if classes were being held in three shifts at the Russian school that would be no less a scandal. In other words, there should be three schools with Kirghiz language training: this figure springs into the mind all by itself. Some say they need four schools: one for each rayon in the city. And then maybe they need ten. But, you see, how many they truly need no one knows. Just think how simple it all was: last August every city family was visited by a teacher, to find out who would be attending first grade. And they asked one by one, in what language would you like the youngster taught? They could have totaled up the figures they received and the picture would have been perfectly clear. But they did not ask. We talk, and get excited, and I am sure that a solution will appear to this problem—but what sort? Based on the actual needs or on the proposals? There you have an opportunity for libertarianism and for miscalculations.

It was suggested that Kirghiz kindergartens be established in order to train the Kirghiz kiddies in their native language. And, you will recall, they quoted Lenin with respect to the equality of languages; but they forget altogether that in those very same articles, Lenin decisively objects to segregating the schools along national lines, considering that the national tasks—studying one's native language, literature, history and so on—can be easily solved in a single school if one does not approach it in a bureaucratic manner. "Dividing school matters by nationality within the confines of a single state is undoubtedly harmful," Vladimir Ilich pointed out, "from the point of view of democracy in general and the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat in particular" (V.I. Lenin, *Complete Collection of Works*, Vol 24, p 58). Or: "Artificial and harmful division of the school question by nationalities"...(*Works*, Vol 23, p 376). These same thoughts by Lenin are cited in such works as "Theses on the National Question," "Critical Remarks on the National Question," "On Cultural and National Autonomy"...and so on. And here, they speak of separate kindergartens: Russian, Kirghiz, Dungan, Uzbek, German, and I don't know what all—after all, one must be concerned for all the nations. And so, are we not taking the line of alienating the little ones of different nationalities from one another, at the precise age at which a person is especially receptive to ideas of internationalism?...

I look out the window onto my yard; my children grew up in it, and my grandchild is now running about. A great many young children know no national differences: they play together; and if quarrels take place they are

over toys, and not over the color of one's eyes. Internationalists are growing up! And even if it is necessary for children to better know their native language, then why not introduce it in lessons in a multilingual kindergarten? For an hour before lunch, and then an hour after lunch, in a play situation, happily... And the Russian kids would learn something at the same time—this is interesting to them, the little ones; it doesn't have to be foisted off on them. Nor is study of the Kirghiz language in a Russian language school a problem, if it is done on a voluntary basis; because problems are created by excessive administration, the when someone else's will is thrust upon one. In this matter, it seems to me, we have more than enough convincing proofs.

Feelings of internationalism are not taught by means of words; and slogans are simply learned by rote, so they can be used at an appropriate time, and sometimes at inappropriate times. Feelings of internationalism arise, for that matter, in living, studying and working together. This is a natural process, if it is not dramatized by the use of abstract theorizing which has nothing to do with practical experience, and if in fact conditions are established for social contacts, from kindergarten to the working collective. Last December Kazakh workers also went out onto the square in Alma Ata, but they stood in the ranks of the volunteer militia, and shamed the unbridled youths.

And you see this must be taken into consideration in everyday life. We must strive to create multinational collectives, and we must strike down the practice in which a Kirghiz—to overstate the problem—has to be a shepherd, and a Russian, a lathe operator. Let us make a comparison: what percentage of Kirghiz young people are enrolled in the philological or history departments or at the agricultural institute—and what percentage at the polytechnical institute. Let us tally up what portion of the workers at plants and factories are Kirghiz; and let us determine the national make-up of workers in agriculture not for the republic as a whole, but on each individual kolkhoz, sovkhoz and even brigade. And we shall see how often the workers are separated from one another according to national lines—either by virtue or professional tradition, or simply by force of habit. And you see it is such thinking, backed up by practical activities, that will provide the necessary result.

Now let us take up another aspect of the question: internationalism should be manifested not only in our republic—we live in the huge family of the Soviet peoples. We speak of mutual cultural enrichment and mutual influence. One of the most important component parts of the culture of any people is its literature. The fact that our automobile assembly plant receives component parts from several hundred enterprises from throughout the Soviet Union is fine, but is not the most powerful argument in internationalist education: pieces of iron are at times faceless. But a book contains the national psychology of a people, as well as its hopes and sorrows.



We must exchange books. But our publishing houses are cutting off any possibility for exchanging books with other republics by means of their circulation policy: the circulation is not enough for Kirghiziya itself, much less finding enough copies to send outside the republic! The series, *Kirgizskaya proza*, for example, was published in the Russian language with a circulation of 12,000 copies: what sort of book exchange can one speak of here? Just drive over to Georgievka, in Kazakhstan; that is all of 20 kilometers from Frunze—and you won't find any Kirghiz books there. By the same token, you won't find any books in Moldavian or Lithuanian in Frunze either.

And one last thing. My Chingiz Aytmatov, whom I deeply respect, in a postscript to his commentary on "Letters on Internationalism," said that in the past there was a galaxy of true internationalists—Nikolay Chekmenov, Nikolay Udalov, Sergey Fiksin—"but somehow I can't see any young people coming up to replace them." How can you say that about us, Chingiz Torekulovich? Anatoliy Salnikov has devoted his entire life to developing the theme of the Kirghiz working class. And Leonid Dyadyuchenko, a figure in Russian science and culture in Kirghiziya, is in the mainstream of creativity. The Russian poetess Svetlana Tokombayeva titled her first book "My Asia," and Russian and Kirghiz motifs flow together in all of her poetry. Any many poets and prose writers, for example, Yevgeniy Kolesnikov or Vyacheslav Shapovalov, are actively translating workers of Kirghiz authors into Russian. Yevgeniy Ozmitel, Mikhail Rudov, and Georgiy Khlypenko are people of different nationalities, but they are united by a common interest: the study of Kirghiz literature; their contribution to the study of Kirghiz literature is very weighty.

Of course, one can imagine that Russian authors are not published in the series "Kirgizskaya proza." The editors of the Kirgystan Publishing House who receive original works of fiction get 10 percent of the entire volume of printers sheets, and this is considered normal; and the circulation of Russian prose does not exceed 12,000 copies. Thus, how are the readers to know that there are internationalists in the Russian section of the Writers' Union!

The discussion of internationalism is continuing. Of course, "In the beginning there was the Word," and we need to understand that it is precisely among ourselves that things are not in order. Nevertheless, the time has come for practical actions; for organizing our work; for directive, if you will, decisions. Not Only in Words, But in Deeds—is one of the slogans of perestroika.

**FROM THE EDITORS:** We believe there are other points of view possible as well on the questions touched upon in Petrukhin's article, as well as in a number of other publications in preparation for the Scientific-Practical Conference on Improving Patriotic and International Education of the Workers. We invite the readers to exchange their own opinions.

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### Ukrainian Culture Fund Head Describes Achievements, Plans

18000138a Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
24 Nov 87 p 3

[Interview with the Ukrainian poet Boris Oleyunik by Ye. Pozdnyakova, PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent: "A Topical Talk: Our High Duty"; time and place not specified; first paragraph is PRAVDA UKRAINY introduction]

[Excerpts] Not long ago, at the initiative of the public, a Ukrainian Culture Fund was created. What main goal does the creation of the new organization pursue?—with this question began the conversation of our correspondent with the chairman of the Ukrainian Culture Fund, the well-known Ukrainian poet Boris Oleyunik.

[Question] Not a whole lot of time has elapsed since the day the Culture Fund was organized—what, nevertheless, has it proved possible to do?

[Answer] I will not exaggerate the deserts of the new organization: Up to now little has been done. But there are things that must be talked about without fail. People have given us their trust.

The oldest writer, Alexander Yeliseyevich Ilchenko, has given to the Fund a sculptured portrait of Shalyapin, the work of Ivan Kavaleridze. The good news about the Ukrainian Culture Fund has even reached our fellow-countrymen abroad. Tatyana Osatsa from the United States has given the museums of Kiev, Lvov, Ternopol and Berezhany 35 pictures. Ksniya Kolotilo from Australia has informed us that she would like to pass on to the Fund the royalties for the album which, with our assistance, is to be published. From the United States the news has come: Martin Turidzhyan has given 12 of his pictures to the Ukraina Society, and the daughter of the outstanding artist and emigrant from the Ukraine, Abram Manevich—Lucy Manevich—has bequeathed 7 pictures of her father to the Society.

[Question] What are the possibilities and tasks of the Fund in the general strengthening of the international and patriotic education of the people?

[Answer] Our land is the mother of three Slavic peoples—the Russian, the Ukrainian, and the Belorussian peoples. I will not enumerate their common sacred objects—they are well known.

For this reason, we are shouldered with an enormous responsibility for the preservation and development of the history and culture of not only the Ukrainians, but also the Russians and Belorussians.



We are obliged to make greater efforts, for example, to put in order Novgorod-Severskiy, from which "The Song of Igor's Campaign" takes its source, to preserve the Kiev-Pecherskaya Monastery, where Nestor the Chronicler produced his work, to save for our descendants the sacred objects of Kiev-Mogilyansk, and to help the Kiev Military-Political School to obtain a new building. To restrain the hand of those in positions of power who threaten "to civilize" Khortitsa—our pride, honor and glory. In a word, there are quite a few places for which we are responsible to the Slavic world. This will be a real contribution to the money-box of friendship.

Although, it goes without saying, our intentions are not exhausted by this. There are interesting proposals. To conduct "Shevchenko lessons" during the days of the All-Union Festival of Literature and Art "In the Free and New Family". From whom, but the great Kobzar, to learn to make friends, to see a brother in the representative of another nation.

[Question] Now a quite "mundane" question. At the expense of what means will the even though small staff of the Ukrainian Culture Fund be supported?

[Answer] Since the Fund has rejected established membership dues, which, incidentally, underscores its democratic character, it must replenish its funds through voluntary donations and gifts. But the apparatus earns its own support. The Fund will undertake to well, let us say, facsimile publications of rarities or archives of our outstanding scientists, artists, and men of letters, to organize exhibits of pictures, which lay for a long time in store-rooms but are of great artistic interest.

Also proposed are large projects, so to speak, for the long term. In a number of countries, Disneyland-type little towns receive a multitude of guests. Why not create something similar in our country? It goes without saying, not with heroes from overseas, but with Gogolevian heroes. In such a little town, one could both be entertained and be given access to national traditions.

[Question] Thank you, Boris Ilyich. For our readers, we communicate the bank account of the Ukrainian Culture Fund—No 702302.

[Answer] By the way, instead of a postscript, I will say the following: Everyone has the right, having made a proviso, to address money and other payments at his own discretion. Let us say, for the erection of a the monument of T. G. Shevchenko in Lvov or for the organization of a picture gallery in the newly-built town for the people of Chernobyl—Slavytiche, or for the monument to Vasiliy Terkin. Any form of your participation in the Culture Fund is regarded as a patriotic act.

### Academic Reviews Novel on Cultural Preservation in Ukraine

18000138b Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 12 Nov 87 p 3

[Article by P. Tolochko, doctor of history, director of the Institute of Archaeology of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences: "Frank Talk: The Cathedrals of Our Souls That We Can Destroy Through Our Indifference"]

[Text] Recently a great deal has been written about our mistakes, errors, and distortions of yesterday. Evidently, this is natural: The past does not leave without a trace, we must talk and write about it, but, perhaps, not so loudly, and with more profound analysis, *why* all this took place, and not only about the fact that it did take place. This task, it seems, is more suitable to the impartial historian than to an emotionally excited man of letters. But for this, time is needed and open access to the archives, and we might as well confess, the breaking of the persisting stereotype of historical research, which for decades has been oriented toward showing primarily achievements.

From others I heard and I myself frequently thought of the question: Are we not eternally doomed to be smart with hindsight? And where were we when the deformities were perpetrated? Were we silent? Yes, we were silent about this, but the detective stories for the children, production novels for adults, not to mention fiction were written and published on a regular basis. Now we can talk about shortcomings—and here we unburden our heart. It turns out, some of our boldness today is related to the superficiality of yesterday, and, it turns out, it comes not so much from internal conviction in the necessity of struggle against evil, as from the safety of its manifestation. But if they had fought when this was necessary and everyone in his place, perhaps it would not be necessary to restructure so much today.

Fortunately, the distressing logic of such positions was nevertheless subjected to reconsideration and even complete rejection long before the "permission to have our own I"—precisely thanks to the fact that the conscience of our society continued and continues to forge characters of the highest civil courage, giving the world outstanding fates and talents simultaneously with the rejection of any scum on its character. In talking about this, I remember among other devotees of the national spirit the name of Oles Gonchar and his remarkable novel "Sobor" [Cathedral], which was published at the end of the 1960's in the Ukraine and has seen publication in Russian only now.

The themes of respect for the past, the preservation and most assiduous care for the historical-cultural legacy of the people, and the spiritual health of man that were raised in them were not then, when "Sobor" was created, among themes that would "go through". During the 1960's one could hear, from the highest platform of the country, reproaches directed at those who went astray in

the patriarchal days of old and who were infected by some sort of "local patriotism". During that time we lost many remarkable monuments of the past. I do not want to irritate the soul by enumerating them. But the loss would be significantly larger if Oles Gonchar had not come out in defense of our spiritual and material values with his novel.

The book came out in 1967 and told about how the country lived at that time. Its central sacred image became an 18th century architectural monument, the cathedral in the industrial settlement of Zaplechlyank, which was on the point of being touched by the all-destroying hand of human ignorance. In the concrete case, our reality of that time reflected the distorted phenomenon of a nihilistic attitude toward history, and the cathedral—this 9-cupola marvel of Kazakh architecture—became the symbol of the ineradicability of the human spirit. And how poetically it is described in the novel!

Oles Gonchar does not simply appeal to take care of beauty, he even investigates the attitude of people to it, poses important problems of ethics and morality, and shows life in all its complexity and contradictoriness. How often we justify our lack of initiative and the lack of civic spirit by references to circumstances: "The line, they say, was such at the time, all acted that way." In so doing, we were convinced that this "line" was determined by some one, and not by us. The pronoun "they" came to be associated with those who did evil. But, you see, "they"—this is also we. It was not any special breeding-ground that gave rise to such figures as the character of the novel Volodka Loboda, who were ready to build a shashlik-house, an open market, or a pool in the place of the cathedral. They grew up and were educated in society, and, consequently, all are responsible for the fact that, at some stage of development, our moral and ethical reference-points were so strongly distorted. This idea was splendidly expressed in the novel by the lips of the young architect Aleksey who—in response to the remark of his parents that he personally is not destroying the cathedral—declared: "All of us are destroying it, both I and you, as well as he—he pointed at his father. Already by the fact that we stand aside. . . . We are destroying it through our indifference! There were those who blew up the Desyatinnaya Church in Kiev, the Mikhaylovskiy Zlatoverkhiy Cathedral was destroyed before everyone's eyes. . . . And are we not spreading indifferent people? We are producing those who are brutal. . . . We are rearing the destroyer ourselves!"

Of course, not all destroyed, and not all were indifferent to this.

For example, the historian of the Ukrainian Cossacks, D. I. Yavornitskiy, about whose moral feat Olex Gonchar told so vividly in the novel, not fearing death, rose in the defense of the church in Zacheplyana. And, you see, his life was literally on the edge of Makhno's sword. The Kiev archaeologist N. Ye. Makarenko did not put his

signature to the act for the demolition of the Mikhaylovskiy Zlatoverkhiy Cathedral, although he probably knew about the grievous consequences of such a step. Guarding the famous Sophia Cathedral against the Fascist barbarians, the architect I. V. Morgilevskiy died on the parvis. During the years when the action of the novel "Sobor" took place, many monuments of history and culture disappeared from the face of the earth, and in Chernigov the noteworthy devotees of our culture, the Muscovite P. D. Baranovskiy and the Kievan N. V. Kholostenko, were working on the restoration of fine works of Old Russian architecture—the Borisoglebskiy Cathedral of the 12th century and the Pyatnitskaya Church of the 12-13th centuries.

Thanks to such people, it proved possible to preserve from destruction already in the 1960's the cathedral which is the subject of discussion in the novel of Oles Gonchar. Having found out about the approaching danger, the majority of the inhabitants of the work settlement came to its defense. Unexpectedly for workers promoted to administrative posts of the type of Volodka Loboda, it turned out that people do not conceive themselves and their settlement without this "masterpiece of Kazakh baroque". "How is it," one of the heroines of the novel, the old Shpachikha said with indignation. "I have been to all the authorities. Why tear it down now? Who has grown tired of it?" The thoughts of the student Mikola Baglay are more elevated. It seems to him that "the demand for beauty and the aversion to destruction have always lived in the depths of the soul of his fellow countrymen, only they did not manifest themselves, they hardly noticed it in themselves, like Zacheplyanka does not notice the stillness of its summer nights while it is not disturbed by anyone, splashes of blast furnace glows while they burn. . . . When a shadow comes and spreads and a threat is imminent, you begin to understand that there are things without which the soul would be depleted and man would become wretched!" A worker of the plant, the activist Verunka Baglay, set off to the obkom secretary to seek protection for the cathedral. . . .

In this single impulse of the inhabitants of the settlement one feels the awakening feeling of their own dignity, the realization of belonging to the people-creator, which "rammed the old world of slavery with the armored trains of their hatred" and transmitted to us "not conceit, not arrogance, not pity, but a feeling of honor, goodness, dignity, and love of freedom." And also faith in a better future. "And all the same I believe in architects," says Mikola Baglay. I believe in changes: The demolisher, the vandal is already damned by us and will be damned by those in the future as well."

Oles Gonchar shows that the past is in need not only of protection, but also of careful preservation. This time, too, the cathedral endured the pressure of militant ignorance, but people are not really satisfied. They are not satisfied because many decades already solicitous restorers have not touched it. And can they be called

solicitous when, appearing from time to time near the cathedral, they put in and repair the timber! "Potemkinists" they have been baptized in the settlement. How many of those have been erected throughout the country?! Even now this vicious practice of deception has not been eliminated. Only the forms have changed. They are not putting in timbers. They research and develop a restoration project, they put together estimates and work schedules coordinated by the parties, and do not fulfill their obligations. A lively correspondence is started between the customer and the restoration shop, but the monument meanwhile is being destroyed. Such, in particular, is the fate of the Trapeznaya Church of the 17th century and the Vydubetskiy Monastery in Kiev, which seemingly is impatiently waiting for restorers. And this besides the fact that all of their claims on the customer—the Institute of Archaeology of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences—have been fulfilled within the contract term.

"... Having arrived the next time in the settlement, the brigade leader of the restorers explained to its inhabitants why in its time the restoration work was put on ice. "You know how things are in our country: Now they have not confirmed the estimate, now there is no drying oil. . . ." "There is no soul in you," Fedor, the rolling mill operative remarked to this.

Today this reproach to the restorers can be shown to be unfair. Many of them really put spirit into their noble work and deserve all kinds of respect. But there are, unfortunately, also those who are similar to the Zacheplyanka restorers. If this were not so, we would not have lost valuable remnants of a church of the 12th century in the process of the restoration of the Spaso-Preobrazhenskiy Cathedral of the 18th century in Novgorod-Severskiy. They were researched by archaeologists in 1983, the restorers saw them, but, since the old walls of plinth and the majolica floors prevented the realization of the previously confirmed plan, they were demolished in 1986. This required a bulldozer, since the laying of Old Russian times did not give in to the pressure of spade and crowbar. And in no one did the soul quiver—neither in the concrete executors, nor in those who as a matter of control by the design office should have especially carefully followed the work of the restorers.

I confess, when I took the Russian translation of the novel "Sobor" that was published in Moscow into my hands, I did not think of reading the book again. Why? You see, I already knew it very well. In its time, we literally became engrossed in it. But, having run through the first pages, I suddenly discovered that once again I found myself in the power of the surprisingly gentle and melodious style, the quiet, but wise and disturbing reflection about the highest calling of man, about "the ultimate sense of all earthly wisdom." The new reading proved to be still more interesting than the previous one. The novel is perceived as profoundly modern. And if we did not know that it was published 20 years ago and if it had been written earlier than that, we would fully accept "Sobor" as a work of our day. In this lies its strength and

attractiveness. And, apparently, for this reason it is being read again with great interest, it is disturbing as before, and it compels people to think. . . .

At the risk of appearing too categorical, I would nevertheless like to express my attitude to the true calling of belles-lettres, which came into being during the reading of the novel of Oles Gonchar. It seems, it should not be likened to some kind of catalogue of yesterday's mistakes, but is obliged to be the mirror of the reality of today and to reflect it in all of its complexity and contradictoriness. How many times have we, and literature above all, leaned on the past bends of the line! In this we were both bold and perspicacious. But, separating ourselves from the fact that we condemned so harmoniously, we did not see new mistakes and believed there were not any. We lived through still another period with optimism, and it turned out that we sinned in it, too. Is it not time to draw the conclusion: We must talk about everything in good time and place artistic talent in the service not so much of repentance of sins as their non-admission.

But, you see, the evil which took place in the 1960's has not been conquered even today. The emigrant Volodka Loboda has not vanished, and they have not made scarecrows of those like him, about which the student Mikola Baglay dreamed. There is life in the old dog yet, he has changed only outwardly. He does not express aloud the idea that "somehow tanks would come through in a crossing, unexpectedly close up and ram through the cathedral." On the contrary, he puts himself out in eternal love for the monuments of the past, writes articles in the newspapers, is indignant, passes judgment on others, makes appeals, but does not do anything practical for their preservation. Today this ostentatious activity impresses us!

The old teacher Foma Romanovich, who in his time had suffered for his love for the Zacheplyanka Cathedral, but had not changed his attitude to it one iota, addressing himself to the young people, said: "Look after the cathedrals of your own souls, friends. . . . The cathedrals of the souls!" The people of Zacheplyanka succeeded in doing it in the novel. They passed the test for spiritual strength. In real life this happens by far not always.

And here I would like to tell about the fate of the Uspenskiy Cathedral of the Kievo-Pecherskiy Monastery, a monument of the architecture of the 11th-18th centuries. Near it, in the most critical moment of its life, there proved to be no such defenders as were D. I. Yavornitskiy and I. V. Morgilevskiy. During the years of the Fascist occupation of Kiev, the cathedral was blown up, and today looks like a wound on the body of the architectural complex, a wound that is not healing. Not very much of it has remained, and that is literally collapsing before our eyes. The fate of the Uspenskiy Cathedral disturbs the people of Kiev, and not only them. Something must be done, for the years are passing, and we are losing even the little that we still have.

In its time in Kiev the idea of the restoration of the Uspenskiy Cathedral developed. People thought that the chief difficulties will arise already in the first stage of the realization of this idea—in the stage of its approval. It turned out that this was not the case. The UkSSR government, taking into account wish of the public, took a decision concerning the restoration of the cathedral. The development of the project was entrusted to the Ukrainian Restoration Design Institute of the UkSSR State Committee for Construction Affairs, and the archaeological research necessary for this—to the Institute of Archaeology of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences. By the beginning of 1986, a creative collective, headed by the architect O. Grauzhis, had completed the development of the plan. And here is where the basic difficulties began.

The first one of them: Is it possible to restore the cathedral in accordance with this plan? It turned out that by far not all were agreed to this. Heated discussions developed.

The plan, undoubtedly, had to be discussed as extensively as possible. The only important thing was that these discussions should have a constructive character and should not be dragged out indefinitely and in the end destroy the living cause of the restoration of the Uspenskiy Cathedral. And such a tendency did appear. With the restoration of the cathedral we do not simply revive one of the most remarkable creations of the human genius, but also resurrect the historical memory of the people. And it is already time to make the transition from words to deeds since it is according to them that our descendants will judge us.

This always correct thought, I note, also runs through Oles Gonchar's novel. "Sobor" delicately and unobtrusively awakens in a man the feeling of his own dignity and the realization of himself. When the emigrant Volodka Loboda, in his criminal plans against the cathedral, tried to enlist the support of the old worker and heroine of the first five-year plans Shpachikha, he received the following reply: "To meet the desires of the workers? So that then everything is dumped on us? This will not be, Volodimir!" she said triumphantly, as if under oath. "Don't wait for my consent to this!" Shpachikha—that is who must be the measure of our conscience and responsibility. And frequently, significantly more frequently than necessary, are concerned about what the foreign public thinks about us. Not long ago, a group of Ukrainian scientists came out in the pages of *Literaturnaya Ukraina* with an article on the occasion of the glaring violation of the Law on the Preservation and Use of Monuments of History and Culture, which were permitted in the prohibited territory of the former Bratskiy Monastery and the Kiev-Mogilanskaya Academy. During the digging of the foundation ditch under the new building, a part of the cemetery of the 17th-18th centuries was destroyed here. The article was correct, but in it the authors did not resist the temptation of citing the support of "progressive circles of foreign countries."

It seems, such citations are a relapse of the same window-dressing, but perhaps a manifestation of our inferiority complex. It would seem, we are restructuring and we are showing concern for the monuments of the past only in order for us to receive praise there. . . .

Such thoughts arise during the reading of Oles Gonchar's novel "Sobor," which, thanks to ROMAN-GAZETA, has come into the hands of the Russian reader in the perfect translation of Izida Novoseltseva. I am convinced that its clear and life-affirming force will find a good response.

8970

**Contemporary Novel Deals with Farm Crisis**  
*18000104a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 87p 3*

[Article by V. Malukhin: "As Befits a Master"]

[Text] "To be the master on the land," "to nurture the feeling of a master..." Does this mean that the master has died out in our land and has disappeared as a type in our nation? Praise God, it is not so. We can read about him, about that person on whom the community depends, in recently published works by Ch. Aytmanov, V. Astafyev, V. Rasputin and I. Drutse. Of equal ranking is the novel *Khozyain* [The Master] by G. Matevosyan, which was printed in the October issue of *Druzhba Narodov*.

It is namely thus that they speak—some with respect, some with a smirk, and some with fear—of the main hero, Rostom the forester. His duty is sad, for "The times are past when things were free and easy for a man in his own little homeland; it is lonely and miserable in a strange land." And when the peasants made their exodus to the city, "joy and laughter were extinguished in the village, and the school fell silent." Even the spring stopped flowing, and everything became a no-man's land in "lifeless space," in what was once a flourishing region.

An adopted child, found in the chapel, Rostom turned out to be a most worthy "son of the larger clan." Not having any heirs himself, he talks about the "land of our children." And what is the village? "Senile old men, who have felt the breath of death," who live out their lives in the odd corners, while "indifferent, unthinking, cold-hearted youth," has accepted as its due a new, unburdensome lifestyle: live for yourself and live a day at a time. As they used to say of old in these parts, "When he mounted the horse, he forgot about God; and when he jumped off the horse, he forgot about the horse." "The whole village is your enemy. Everyone interferes in someone's life; but you especially, you interfere in everyone's," one of these young men hurled in Rostom's face. However, Rostom's moral authority is so unquestionable that a person of any calling here "would feel accountable in a certain way" to the strange forester.



Rostom is always alone, and he always speaks of himself in the plural: the author's, the doctor's, the monarch's and the peasant's "we" are well-known. But Rostom's "we" is the master's, the tribal, the patriarchal: "the voices of those old villages, those decrepit fences with their abandoned, empty gates; yesterday's voices of the old cattle sheds and threshing floors still resound in our ears." And yet this uncommon "we," depending on the situation, can be a subtle instrument of self-irony, or the last means for concealing one's own helplessness, bitterness, tenderness, and pride...

Thus, who is he anyway, the hero of the novel—"the sole and sovereign master of this region" or the "guard at the cemetery," a "wolfhound"—or the wolves' dinner? When Rostom starts up the sawmill, which has received stolen lumber, or when he turns the tables on the dishonest, his enemies prudently permit him this bundle of despair: theirs is still the authority; theirs is still the power. The joke about the fact that the forester "is creating his own state, independent of the center," thus remains a joke. But the sovereign state of his inexorable spirit is another matter. "Look on, serf...and learn how to behave like a man!"—Rostom cries out in anguish. Withdrawing from the people, at whom one can shout oneself hoarse, the despised and helpless giant weeps. Rostom's elder sister comforts him like a child: "Among the unmounted people of this nation, the one true knight is—my brother; without a single friend to help him is—my brother; the defender of the people is —my brother..." And thus ends the novel. But what will become of them in the future? Here the village children play at being grown-ups, literally trying on their future words and deeds. From childish lips one hears the heckling personages already known to the reader. Is this then not the future: unaware of our presence, it enters into the role of the successor, tries out its still-weak voice, and rehearses its still far-off drama? In this choir that sings out-of-tune that obstinate, that absurd, that haughty "we" is heard as well.

*Khozyain* is a novel of an integral, vivid and complex character. I have heard the main hero criticized for xenophobia, and for his inability to discern the truth from another, and to realize that life has changed. But it is life itself that denies Rostom this possibility. *Khozyain* is moreover a novel of the crisis of the traditional peasant consciousness in contemporary conditions. This is the problem of any village—both Armenian and Russian: the house was left without a master. Will contact with the times be restored? What sort of contact will it be? No one knows this exactly. It is important that we look upon the master as befits him: in literature before we do so in life.

#### Author Mozhayev Discusses Novels on Village Life

18000104b Moscow KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE in Russian No 47, 20 Nov 87 p 3

[Interview by Vyacheslav Ogruzhko with Author Boris Mozhayev: "The Land Awaits its Master"]

[Text] Finding Boris Mozhayev in Moscow is not an easy task. He is continuously traveling about. The writer has a particular propensity for the village. He is well aware of the problems of kolkhoz life. The writer began the struggle for new economic relationships on kolkhozes and sovkhoses in his essay, "The Earth Awaits its Master," which was printed in 1961...

"It was published in 1961," prompts Boris Andreyevich, "but was written in 1960. It was difficult to get it printed. The chief editor of the magazine *Oktyabr* F. Panferov 'rammed' the essay through one of the secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee and through one of Khrushchev's aides. Publication was permitted only in the form of a discussion. And they also removed the word "khozyain" [master] from the title of the essay at that time.

"The magazine devoted three issues to the topic of new economic relationships in the rural area. The idea of the contract [podryad] had both its supporters and its opponents. There were scholars and commentators who believed that the team [zveno] system would lead to fragmenting the monolithic nature of the farms.

"I encountered the team system for the first time in the Amur Basin. That was in 1959, immediately after the elimination of the MTS [Machine-Tractor Stations], when all the equipment was placed into the hands of the kolkhozes. The contract was the general desire. It received great support in the rural area. As early as 1960 I observed the work of teams in the Altay and in Northern Kazakhstan. I wrote a second essay on this topic, "At Soldatovo with Nikolay Lozov," based on fresh material. Soon they appealed for the contract system in the central Russian corridor as well, in the Kuban, in Stavropol.

"But in 1962 they started to throttle down the team system. A struggle with the grasslands was declared. On many farms crop rotation was disrupted. This dealt a heavy blow to the teams. You see, they received their money from the harvest. And when the fallow lands were eliminated, on top of this there came orders from on high which crops to sow, and on which field, and so the harvests fell. And their wages immediately declined drastically too. In the years 1963-1964 teams remained only on certain farms.

"And they remained at Lozov's place. Lozov had power. The kolkhoz provided many products from a single hectare, and outstripped by far all other farms in

Vostochno-Kazakhstan Oblast. Lozov was awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor. But then he was promoted to the ministry, and the kolkhoz was allowed to run in the old manner.

"Teams remained on the Zavety Ilich Kolkhoz in Stavropolskiy Kray at Vasilii Andreyevich Ryndin's place. He took his model for profit and loss accounting from my essay on Lozov. He had to defend the idea of non-contract teams in a stubborn struggle. Fortunately, Ryndin managed to hold out to this very day. In 1985, which was very dry for Stavropol, an average of 10 centners of wheat per hectare was harvested in his rayon; but at Ryndin's place, the yield was 31 centners.

[Question] But then they did not succeed after all in suppressing the idea of the contract in the rural area?

[Answer] The second wave of non-contract teams passed after the March 1965 party central committee plenum. It particularly passed over the area around Moscow. The central newspapers gave strong support to the team system. At that time articles by team leader Valentin Papkov of Stupinskiy Sovkhoz had great repercussions. He was a splendid mechanic, an excellent inventor and a fine journalist. Papkov quarreled sharply with the opponents of the team system, and especially with commentator Leonid Ivanov. He argued furiously and defended himself brilliantly. Papkov fought for about seven years. But they crushed him too. The team brought in a harvest twice as large than the ordinary sovkhoz brigades, but received less per person than the tractor drivers who worked in the ordinary fields. Artificial obstacles were created for Papkov. And in the final analysis the teams were dispersed. My meetings with the V.I. Konotop, then first secretary of the Moscow party obkom, unfortunately did not help.

But they "squeezed" the idea of the team system in one place, and it made a splash in another. They "squeezed" it in another place, and it emerged in a third... The personality of each team leader grew in an extraordinary way. Self-reliance was strengthened, and they were one step away from independence. And it was this that disturbed the bureaucrats, who did everything by means of papers and instructions. A production conflict grew into a socio-moral one. The team leaders were hindering the bureaucrats. And that is the way it continued right up to 1982, until the party resolution on the creation of the brigade contract. But even after this the resistance did not weaken. In the years 1983-1984 several sharp articles were published which condemned the opponents of the team system. But the onslaught did not slacken. Resistance continues to this day, although no one can bring himself to fight in the open now. Other methods have appeared. For example, writing off sown areas. But the land alone can dictate the conditions which must be carried out, and not the bureaucracy.

[Question] The ideas on contracts were developed not only in your commentary, but also in the novels *Zhivoy, Polyushko-polye*, and other works. I suppose that publishing them was not easy either.

[Answer] The novel *Polyushko-polye* was accepted for publication by the magazine *Oktyabr* in 1963. It's true that at that time, it had a different title: *Protiv nebo na zemle* [Against Heaven on Earth.] But the chief editor of the magazine at that time, V. Kochetov, stopped the novel. In his opinion the novel "lacked"...socialism. The novel was published in abridged form by the Sovetskiy Pisatel Publishing House only in 1965. And they forbade use of the old title. So they had to give it a new one—*Polyushko-polye*. Now the novel has been put on the screen under the title *V Rasputitsu* [During the Season of Bad Roads].

[Question] The ideas you expressed in your essays and novels in the 1960's were not widely disseminated. And they have not been put into practice in everyday life. Commentators and scholars have already explained why. Do you agree with their opinions? Or do the writers have their own point of view?

[Answer] I for one have not seen an exhaustive answer, neither from the commentators nor from the scholars. And it is needed. There was a great deal of talk on this topic. But all the opinions basically boiled down to the fact, that the idea of non-contract teams—that is, the elements of profit and loss accounting, and cooperation, which has been introduced in agriculture and industry—ran into the bureaucratic system of management, which could not abide independence in even individual, basic teams. I agree with this point of view. Today there is a law on enterprises, and there is every possibility to defend the idea of the contract. It remains a matter of carrying out the law.

[Question] But what is hindering the introduction of profit and loss accounting in the rural area now?

[Answer] Establishing the team system today requires supplying the farms with equipment in the required assortment. Presently everything starts with funds and ceilings. But it should start with trade. What is needed is fertilizer and machines which could make, for example, peat-humus mixtures. Fuel is needed as well, as are building materials. In a word, the team system requires extensive development of commodity-monetary relationships and supplying the farms with everything they need. Then they would not have to drive divisions of office workers from the cities to the rural areas, first for weeding, then for the harvest.

[Question] What is the main lesson that you personally have drawn from the past, from the epoch of stagnation?

[Answer] It is necessary to carry out our own resolutions and laws. And we have not yet learned this lesson. I will cite only one example. The September 1953 CPSU



Central Committee Plenum categorically forbade planning of sown areas. But this decision was then not carried out. It was revisited repeatedly, at the March 1965 and the July 1978 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and at the 27th Party Congress. But to this time hardly any farms have managed to change anything on the fields, which were allotted from above for the entire five-year plan even before the congress.

**[Question] Boris Andreyevich, you have done a lot of travelling in the rural areas. What are the problems in the rural area today which are especially disturbing to you?**

**[Answer]** The very same ones. All the problems remain. Thus far little has changed. Yes, the creation of non-contract teams is invigorating country life today. But the waning of the independence granted to the farm administrators also brings forth its fruit. I am convinced of the fact that we now have a very bad supply system. The kolkhozes write up orders for tractors, and they often send them combines.

**[Question] But those are economic problems. What about moral problems?**

**[Answer]** Imagine for a moment that you are a kolkhoz chairman. Presently the farms are authorized to sell one-third of the products themselves via direct contract relationships. The law was passed. But it is not carried out. Now the chairman wants to build, let us say, a specialized livestock section on the collective farm. But where is he to buy the building material or the nails? He cannot even purchase electric lamps in the store. He must dodge around. Today if the chairman builds a livestock section on a self-supporting basis, he is not certain that it will be accepted.

**[Question] What is your conception of boldness in literature?**

**[Answer]** Write the truth. And do not over-interpret anything. That's what the demagogues do. You have to express your own point of view: that which you perceive with your own soul. Yes, they do not always print the truth. A writer must be a persistent person and must not fall into despair under any circumstance.

**[Question] As sociological research has shown, your novel *Muzhiki i baby* [Peasant Men and Women] is one of the most popular works of recent times. How did the idea for the novel emerge? And what caused you to take up its continuation and write a second volume?**

**[Answer]** The idea emerged long ago, as early as the years of my youth. I used to dream of becoming an engineer, but also a writer. I studied at the Higher Naval Institute. And I used to compose poems. I loved to practice by writing a poem on a given topic in one hour. I considered the poems a distinctive kind of practical training. And it was then that the idea of a great novel appeared. With the years, the idea took on specific features.

Leaving the navy in 1954, I began to work as a correspondent, and did a great deal of walking through the taiga and villages. And I remembered the villages of my homeland—Ryazan Oblast. I began to develop a desire to take up the subject of the peasant commune. Almost all the authors had spoken up to now about the external form of the commune, about its structure. For example, the books of Zamoyskiy and Panferov described for the most part the search for new forms of social development in everyday life. But I was more excited about another thing. I wanted to look at the commune as if from within.

The peasants had always called their commune the mir. This mir was older than the state. I was interested in what supported the peasant mir and what kind of internal relations maintained it. I often thought of Sholokhov. He succeeded in depicting the Cossacks from within. But I wanted to depict the peasants. I wanted to write a novel which would recreate the colorful nature of the peasant mir, one which would reflect its social and moral side.

The first and second volumes should be considered a single book. The first describes the peasantry in the period before the storm, and the second turns to the point of crisis in the peasant mir. Both volumes were also written at almost the same time, with a three-year interval.

It turned out to be difficult to have the novel printed. For three years I was unable to publish the first volume. At first it had been accepted by the former chief editor of the magazine *Novyy Mir* V. Kosolapov. But Kosolapov did not manage to have it printed, and S. Narovchatov, his replacement, rejected the novel. It was only in 1976 that we managed to have the first volume published by Sovremennik Publishing House.

At the end of 1978 I sat down at the second volume. I would have been able to finish writing it by the Fall of 1979. But I could not see a publisher. Therefore I decided to set the novel aside, and for a year and a half worked in motion pictures, making the film *Predvaritel'noye rassledovaniye* [The Preliminary Investigation]. And after that I finished the second volume in four months. In March of 1980 I inserted the final period.

The manuscript made the rounds of almost all the magazines. It spent some time at the magazine *Druzhba narodov*. The prose department and the working editorial staff approved it, but Chief Editor S. Baruzdin said that he would first publish my short story *Poltora kvadratnykh metra* [One-and-a-half Square Meters], which had languished with him for ten years, and only then the novel. But after the short story had been published, a great row was raised in the newspapers, and Baruzdin would not take a position on publishing my novel. I took the manuscript away to the magazine *Nash sovremennik*. Then-First Deputy Chief Editor Yu. Seleznev took a warm interest in the novel. He took the manuscript away

to Glavlit and received permission for its publication. However, Chief Editor S. Vikulov, who had returned from sabbatical leave, turned down the novel. After that the manuscript was offered to the magazine *Novyy mir*. The novel once again went to Glavlit. To the surprise of the editor at that time, there were no objections whatsoever to the novel at Glavlit. Karpov stalled for three years, but he never published it. But last year I offered my services to the magazine *Don*. And at *Don* the novel was immediately put into production.

[Question] Last year our newspaper repeatedly turned to the question of the need for a holiday for Slavic Literature. I know that you actively support this idea. In your view, what sort of holiday should this be?

[Answer] Every holiday should be very colorful. How did they manage all the ceremonies in the past? They were magnificently staged. Just take a wedding or a birth. An extraordinary amount of thought was devoted to these rituals. Not a single thing was left to chance. The holidays were turned into performances for the viewing audience.

At present we ascribe no significance to traditions. We look upon many rituals as if they were nonsense. And that's a shame.

You see, recently I was with a group of writers in the small Italian town of Nicosia. One evening we were invited to the town hall. At the entrance we were met by a young man. I thought that rock music would soon break out. But the young lads gave a brilliant performance of medieval folk dances, and they performed ancient songs and dances resurrected by the ballet masters. And we saw a very colorful sight: love and reverence for the centuries-old rituals of their native town. That was touching. I was also touched by the young people's excellent knowledge of their own traditions.

But many of our own lads have now been stricken with pop-music, and they have a poor knowledge of their own traditions.

[Question] Are you opposed to rock?

[Answer] My attitude toward rock music is serene. I believe that just as this wave has swept over us, it will also subside. It is not rock that is so terrible. We are forgetting our own roots. Few young people are familiar with our Russian songs.

But nothing passes without leaving a trace. Nor will rock pass without a trace. The scars will remain. But it is not that which pains my heart right now. Let the young people, if they wish, take comfort in rock. But we must not neglect our roots. Traditions are an important factor in the life of every nation. We must resurrect the folk dances and the old songs, the ritual and the genre songs. What choral singing they had in Old Rus! What music,

what dances! Then it will be obvious, against our common background, what is the worth of, folk songs for example, and that of—rock music.

[Question] What sort of opinions do you value most of all?

[Answer] Those of the ordinary reader. I receive a great deal of mail. In most cases the reader understands with striking depth and accuracy the essence of what was written—which one cannot always say of a critic.

09006

### Salutskiy's Essay Touches on Painful Problems in Villages

18000104c Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Nov 87 p 3

[Article by Leonid Ivanov: "Look Back at the Weak"]

[Text] Anatoliy Salutskiy structured his essay, "The Weak and the Strong" in an original manner (Anatoliy Salutskiy, "Slabye i silnyye," [The Weak and the Strong], *Nash sovremennik*, No 9, 1937). Together with the first secretary of the Kirov party obkom the author sets out for remote farms, listens attentively to the secretary's conversations with local officials, records them, and during the intervals between conversations fills them in with his own thoughts on matters in the villages during recent decades—on the most important decisions on questions of agriculture; on the reorganization of the Machine Tractor Stations; on establishing sovkhoses on the base of backward kolkhozes; on enlarging them or breaking them into smaller units; and so on. These are the judgments of a man who is concerned for the fate of the villages, who thinks about the consequences of the decisions adopted; and they are, in my view, extremely interesting. I would like them to come to the attention of the present leaders at all levels of Agroprom [State Agro-Industrial Commission] (and not only Agroprom); that they be forced to look back, and deal with the mistakes which were made—which would undoubtedly help in working out ways to develop the villages.

Of course one cannot accept all of Salutskiy's conclusions unconditionally, and with certain ones one would like to argue: but all of them deserve careful examination.

The author decisively rejects the policy of setting up sovkhoses on the base of weak kolkhozes. But it seems to me that the matter is more complex than that. Occasionally we have been rather tardy; we have spent too much time observing the breakdown of lagging kolkhozes, and only when they have completely collapsed have we begun to switch them onto the sovkhos tracks. And so, you see, in Leningrad Oblast every last kolkhoz became a sovkhos. Rather high indicators have been achieved here in

harvests and farm productivity, and they are now 1.5 times higher than in the neighboring oblasts—Pskov, Novgorod and Kalinin Oblasts.

One can also cite Tselinograd Oblast, where fewer than a dozen kolkhozes remain. And this region of sovkhoses differs from the others by virtue of its greater achievements. The same is true in Omsk and certain other Siberian oblasts, where the greater share of the kolkhozes have been reorganized as sovkhoses.

I anticipate the objections of certain literary figures and economists: in a number of oblasts the indicators for kolkhozes are higher than those of the sovkhoses. But is it fair to compare the indicators of the strongest kolkhozes with the most backward of their brethren, which have been transformed into sovkhoses?

But this is to the point. The attraction of Salutskiy's essay, in my view, lies in the fact that he poses sharp questions about lagging farms, and discloses the principal causes which led to their clear-cut demarcation as weak or strong.

Let us lend an ear to his words:

**"Oh, these village leaders are strong, and wealthy to boot! It is their voices which are heard from the highest rostrums in the country; important and especially important delegations come to see them; innumerable essays are written about them, and feature films about them are made in series."**

Of course the outstanding farms deserve this praise. But the essayist looks deeper: You see, when routine decisions about agriculture are being worked out, principal attention is paid to the voices of the leaders of the outstanding farms, and their example is taken as the obligatory norm for each farm. But who and when, asks the author, has paid serious attention to the opinion of the lagging farms, and has truly studied the things which alarm and concern them?... And has the time not come to give principal consideration to the problems of the poor farms? History has already taught us so often, that their fate will become the fate of all of our villages: every time we place all our hopes on the strong ones, the weak ones fall further into decline.

Salutskiy's conclusion on this is backed up by convincing facts.

In its time the reorganization of the MTS [Machine-Tractor Station] was begun on the suggestion of the administrators of rich kolkhozes. It was namely these that acquired the best machinery from the MTS—and in complete working order; for they had the money. And subsequently these strong kolkhozes did not need very much the assistance of the newly-created "Selkhoztekhnika" [State Committee for Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture], since they had built their own repair shops, and had equipped them. And the cost of

repairs in their own shops was ordinarily cheaper by a factor of 1.5 than at "Selkhoztekhnika," for its services were dear, and it brought down the very weakest farms, and accelerated their destruction.

The administrators of the strong farms were also the first to promote the idea of liquidating the cattle which were the private property of the villagers, since they were already capable of providing animal-husbandry products for their workers. And what came of that we know full well: It was precisely the poor farms which then lost many of their workers, and wound up without any cows.

Salutskiy anticipates the objections of the Agroprom administrators: in a short period of time, certain weak farms became strong ones. Yes, such things did happen. But how is that done more often than not? Upon instructions from on high, they begin to modernize one of the farms in a rayon; this attracts new workers from outside; and things begin to go better. The author cites several such examples, and I could cite some too.

I paid a visit to the Mir Kolkhoz outside Kalinin. It was decided to modernize this, the most backward farm in the rayon: they built an entire town from scratch; houses with all the conveniences; a school; a Palace of Culture. And in place of the 26 able-bodied workers who were left in the kolkhoz, there are now nearly 400 people there. Their production indicators have also shown a sharp increase.

But, it seems to me Salutskiy was right in asserting that every such situation is not an example, not a logical consequence of the operation of the present economic mechanism, but merely an exception—be it a benign one. And the resources allocated to one such farm are, in the final analysis, not available to the others, the weak ones.

**"Are we not fooling ourselves with such newfound 'Mayaks,' [Beacons]; are we not suppressing the increasing alarm for the fate of the weak farms?"** asks Salutskiy, and adds: **"The foremost become all the more powerful as the years go by, and the problems in our agriculture do not abate one bit. ...Is it good for our society as a whole, that in one and the same rayon today one can find a cattle-fattening farm with an income in the tens of millions, with the corresponding socio-cultural-domestic facilities of the city; while on the other hand, there is one which lacks even the basic everyday conditions for human life, on which a sovkhovnik can barely make ends meet?"**

The question is reasonable!

In his essay in *Pravda*, Salutskiy takes issue with the statements of M.G. Vagin, a prominent kolkhoz chairman from Gorkiy Oblast. And in this argument I am wholly on Salutskiy's side.

The distinguished chairman hurls a rebuke at the laggards: You must work!

That's true of course. But you see it is very seldom that the people of a lagging farm do poor work, or lie on top of their ovens. Salutskiy is correct in his assertion that at times they work more earnestly and harder there than on the strong farms, even though on the weak ones the working and living conditions are far worse.

Vagin is fighting for more rapid introduction of free sale of equipment, building materials, and fertilizer.

Well, that is in the spirit of the times. But I think Salutskiy is correct when he says, that this is a display of open egoism, with no attempt at concealment, on the part of those who have more money and distinction.

Vagin heads an artel with an income in the many millions; however, he is annoyed by the fact that it has been proposed that all farms deduct 13 percent of their wages earned for the social security fund. He is annoyed by the fact that he will have to deduct 700,000 rubles; but the retired kolkhoz members on his farm will receive only 270,000. It turns out that the remaining 430,000 will go to pensioners on poorer farms.

**"It's a pity," writes Vagin. "After all, the money is our own; we earned it; and they want to give it to the neighbors. For the state, the strong kolkhozes will be none the worse. Therefore, their work should be encouraged and they should be helped in every way. They must be protected."**

Salutskiy's reply to this statement from the prominent chairman is altogether justified. This is also a legitimate question: Why have we not introduced a progressive tax for high profits? The moreso, I add on my own behalf, since the absolute majority of rich kolkhozes receive greater profits not from the production of grain, milk and meat, but from their commercial activities.

But after all, Vagin, like certain other prominent "millionaires," is always speaking at congresses and plenums; and their advice and recommendations will be heard, with the corresponding practical outcomes. And you see, the opinions and judgments of the middle-class farmers, and moreover those of the leaders of the poor farms, remain with themselves.

Anatoliy Salutskiy has touched on a very important problem! He is the first among the essayists on rural themes who noticed what is perhaps the most acute phenomenon in village life, for its further development. And one cannot but agree with his conclusion on the fact that, "In the quest for new approaches to developing the village, it is time for a revolutionary change, as perestroika demands, and put an end to the fruitless practice of the last 40 years of orienting on the strong farms," and not close our eyes to the problem of the weak.

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## **Armenian Artists Conference Reviews Current Problems, Goals**

### **Most Pressing Issues Enumerated**

18300042a Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian 1 Oct 87  
p 4

[Article under the rubric "On the 13th Congress of the Armenian Union of Artists": "Restructuring and Creativity"]

[Text] Today the 13th Armenian Artists Congress begins its work in Yerevan. We have a right to expect a great deal from this conference, and in particular that it will include frank and businesslike discussion which is professional in quality on those problems which are of concern in the modern Armenian fine arts within the context of the lofty tasks posed for our republic's artists by the times in which we live.

The time which has passed since the 12th Armenian Artists Congress has been marked in the life of our country by transformations of such scale that they can properly be called revolutionary. Restructuring is proceeding, and it requires that those involved in literature and the arts, including artists, take a more active stance in life and join those by whose efforts the customary way of doing things is being changed and new forms in the life of Soviet people are being developed. This is even more important since at all stages of their history Armenia's fine arts have been notable for the fact that their best representatives were outstanding for their high level of civic duty, closeness to the people, courage, honesty and faithfulness to their chosen path. Basing their work on the best Armenian fine arts traditions, such outstanding masters of artistic culture as M. Saryan, A. Kodzhoyan, Ye. Kochar, A. Sarkisyan and M. Avetisyan have become like lighthouses which should serve as points of orientation for contemporary artists.

Thanks to their efforts and those of dozens of other artists, Armenian fine arts have rightfully taken their secure place in our country. Their inherent humanism, love for the native soil and closeness to the people have won the respect of a multitudinous army of art lovers in our country. There is also great interest in the Armenian fine arts abroad.

However, the successes which have been achieved should not serve to protect the negative phenomena, stagnation and problems which exist in the work of the Armenian Union of Artists and in matters pertaining to art in general. Thus, the Armenian Union of Artists has grown quite rapidly in recent years in numerical terms (currently it has over 700 members, not counting its youth section), yet it cannot be said that among the new members there are many who can follow in the footsteps of our republic's leading artists: G. Khandzhyan, A. Akopyan, S. Muradyan, O. Zardaryan and M. Abegyan, whose works, which are imbued with lofty humanistic and civic ideals, are renowned far beyond the boundaries

of our republic. It is alarming that late creative and civic development, dedication to formalistic creative efforts, loss of ethnic roots and portrayal on canvas, on paper or in sculpture of something akin to riddles which are not only incomprehensible to the broader public, but to their own fellow artists as well, are all typical of our younger generation of artists.

It is also cause for concern that the process of admission to the Union of Artists is often surrounded by unhealthy passions which do honor neither to young artists nor to their elder colleagues. We should also not ignore the fact that sometimes acceptance into the Union of Artists depends on a purely formal criterion: the number of exhibitions in which the candidate has participated, with no consideration given to the young artist as an individual — his inner world, his civic stance, the goals which he is pursuing in seeking to join the Union. Only by applying an individualized approach to acceptance in the Union can we avoid a process of swelling the ranks of the Union with people who are passive as citizens and unstable in their ideology and their art.

During the period since the 12th Congress exhibitions remained the primary means of acquainting the public in our republic with works by artists; exhibitions were held on a regular basis at the Armenian House of Artists, the Museum of Contemporary Art and the Armenian State Ethnographic Museum. Among them were exhibitions of individual works as well as thematic and one-artist exhibitions. Residents of Yerevan and guests of the capital had numerous opportunities to view works by artists from the fraternal union republics. That practice is definitely worthy of the greatest praise and encouragement; however, the exhibition commission should be stricter when making its selections. Some thematic exhibitions have been excessively burdened with unnecessary, unclear and even completely incomprehensible works. This makes it impossible to get an overall impression even from exhibitions in which there are quite a few works which are of a high artistic and civic level. Furthermore, not all one-artist exhibits have proven worthy of exhibition at the House of Artists. We have a right to expect more traveling exhibitions in the various rayons of our republics, as well as exhibitions focusing on art from other union republics.

The artist in Soviet society is a remarkable figure, and an authoritative one. Often art lovers turn not only to works by the masters of chisel or brush, to their graphic or sculptural works; they also strive for personal communication and assistance and expect answers to many questions which are of concern to our society today. Among them undoubtedly one of the most important is the question of how restructuring is being reflected in artists' work.

It needs to be said that our artists are turning in the direction of restructuring with unpardonable slowness. Each day the specific practices of socialist construction present us with complex life conflicts which are resolved

only with difficulty, very often by destroying previous concepts. However, the Armenian fine arts seem to be standing on the sidelines of all this; at least, restructuring is not being reflected in works by the masters of brush and chisel. The primary task of Armenian artists is to find an artistic equivalent of all the revolutionary transformations taking place in all areas of Soviet society.

Today, at a time when the party demands that those working in literature and the arts strengthen their contact with real life, it is simply essential that a new quality be infused into the practice of creative excursions. It cannot be regarded as a normal situation when an artist spends all his or her time on an excursion working "in the open air," cut off from the pulse of life in the "provinces." However, familiarization with the daily lives of kolkhoz members, workers and members of the village intelligentsia can give a new impetus to an artist's work and provide inspiration for numerous subjects. Furthermore, as a rule there is a shortage of instructors for art schools in the villages of our republic. Why should our artists not establish patronage over village art schools and studios in fact instead of just on paper and organize there series of classes which would undoubtedly provide young lovers of painting and sculpture with lasting memories?

Quite a few complaints can be made concerning Armenian art specialists and critics. Of course, studying the history of the fine arts is a very necessary and important task. However, they should not shy away from the ambiguous processes currently occurring in the arts milieu in our republic. Because by doing so our critics often find themselves cut off from the mainstream of the modern artistic process.

Armenian artists are an indispensable component of the army of thousands and thousands of artists in our country. The art which they offer to the people should be life-affirming, socially active and militant, and we hope that the current forum of Armenian artists will prove capable of realizing these lofty ideals.

#### Official On Art Under Perestroika

18300042b Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 2 Oct 87  
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[Armenpress report: "The Artist and His Times: The Armenian Artists Congress"]

[Text] The artist's task is to create works which are genuinely valuable in terms of their social and artistic significance, works which are in harmony with the times. Under current conditions of developing glasnost and democracy the artist has an obligation to be an active participant in the nationwide struggle for restructuring and renewal in our lives. This task of Soviet art was stressed with new vigor at the regular 13th Armenian Artists Congress. The congress opened on 1 October at the Palace imeni S. Shaumyan.



Serving on the congress presidium were comrades K. Demirchyan, G. Voskanyan, F. Sarkisyan, R. Arzumanyan, M. Arutyunyan, L. Saakyan, G. Akopyan, deputy chairman of the ArSSR Council of Ministers S. Avetisyan, chief of the ArSSR CP Central Committee Department of Culture N. Yesayan, ArSSR minister of culture Yu. Melik-Ogandzhanyan, first secretary of the board of the USSR Union of Artists T. Salakhov, the heads of delegations of artists from Moscow and Leningrad, and prominent masters of the fine arts.

The keynote report was presented by S. Muradyan, chairman of the board of the ArSSR Union of Artists.

The party and government are devoting particular attention to the work of those in the fields of culture and the arts, to improvement of their creative and working conditions and to increasing the ideological and artistic level of their works, said the speaker.

A CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers 1986 resolution entitled "On the Further Development of the Fine Arts and Expansion of Their Role In the Communist Upbringing of Workers" noted in part that the fine arts, as the most important part of the multiethnic Soviet culture, are of tremendous significance in the communist education of the people. The fine arts exert an active influence on a person's social consciousness and encourage the harmonious development of the individual.

The grand process of restructuring which is under way throughout the Soviet Union also encompasses culture and the arts. Today more than ever we see the timeliness of civilization and the educational role of the arts. In the historic process of restructuring the arts are not merely accompanying events, are not only reflecting and reacting to great transformations, but are also becoming an inspiration, organizing force and direct participant. And in that respect the party and the government are placing a great deal of responsibility on workers in the arts; they are being given an important role in meeting the Soviet man's spiritual needs.

Referring to the priority task of those working in the fine arts in Armenia — creation of works for the people which are imbued with lofty ideals and artistic principles — the speaker noted that during the period which has elapsed since the previous congress our artists have labored quite successfully. Evidence of that were the 150 thematic and single-artist exhibitions and artists' weeks at which painters, sculptors, graphic artists and masters of applied art from our republic exhibited many notable works. Those works broadly depicted the moral image of our contemporaries and their labor achievements.

Quite a lot has been done to promote the arts among the broad public, raise the level of effectiveness of events held in conjunction with fraternal republics and expand creative contacts. Nevertheless, what has been done thus far cannot be regarded as satisfactory. Considerable

shortcomings and mistakes remain in the work of the Union of Artists. This was also discussed at the July (1987) ArSSR CP Central Committee Plenum. It was quite rightly noted that recently there has been a lowering of criteria for the evaluation of artistic creativity, and that often efforts to please various groups by showing lack of objectivity and excessive adulation are substituted for a party-like, realistic approach to artistic creativity.

Today we are all concerned with issues connected with the development of the fine arts as a reflection of contemporary life and with artistic interpretation of economic and social tasks; these tasks were set forth in a timely manner and with party-like adherence to principles in the aforementioned resolution by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers.

Today the fine arts, literature and the theater have become active means of aesthetic and ethical education, with a bearing primarily on the spiritual world of our contemporaries. Yet despite all that, do we always see moving works which penetrate the human spirit and which were created in a profound harmony of the artist's thoughts and emotions?

The achievements of our artists, already universally acclaimed, would be more brilliant and convincing against the backdrop of an active creative search if we could eliminate old, stereotypical thinking.

It should be noted with all frankness that a number of all-union and republic exhibitions are simply not very interesting. At those exhibitions we see quite a few works wherein a subject which is in itself important and significant often serves merely as a thesis, a premise which does not receive proper artistic embodiment. And whereas works imbued with profound human experiences were typical of exhibitions in the 1960's and 1970's, currently we often see works at our exhibitions which do not provoke thought or emotions, which lack profound emotion and civic enthusiasm.

What restructuring requires of an artist is profound moral conviction, maturity of emotions, a clear-eyed socialist view and profound interpretation of life.

When we speak today of a lack of civic activism on the part of artists and the social inertness of artistic works, obviously one of the main reasons for that is the profound contradiction between the social imperative, the genuine content of real-life phenomena and the artist's inner convictions.

Today it is hard to say when and where the decline in the social activism of the arts began. But it is quite obvious that we all contributed to that decline to a lesser or greater extent: the leaders of our union, members of the older generation, educators — in short, all the people



who by various means have achieved a certain status — are now more concerned with maintaining their prosperity and easy life than with urgent problems within our creative union.

In the report much attention was devoted to the upbringing of young artists; the decisive role of specialized educational institutions was noted. But why just of them? The school reform requires that special attention be focused on students' aesthetic education. Regardless of the special field for which a modern pupil is trained, he should be a spiritually rich, subtle individual with a fine sense of taste, especially if he intends to become an artist, musician or writer or dedicate himself to the theater. If we want to see good students at the theater-art institute, then we must give pupils a good aesthetic education. Today that is more than clear. The changes taking place in our spiritual life and a substantial portion of our spiritual restructuring depend upon the system of education and upbringing, and that system is in need of improvement.

Being a modern artist means belonging wholly to one's times. The concept of the contemporary period assumes capabilities on the part of the artist: the ability to give the fullest possible form to man's inner world, to portray human beings' most typical and essential links with their era. In this sense we cannot be satisfied with mastery merely of contemporary forms and means of artistic depiction, said S. Muradyan. We as artists should be interested in ways to intensify the influence of the fine arts on the ethical and psychological makeup of our contemporaries.

Regarding the union's own creative work, the speaker noted that in that area a great deal remains to be realized. Although in the near future the union will get a new building, its capacity for promoting achievements in the fine arts nevertheless remains limited. There is an acute need for small galleries, particularly in new housing projects. And the artists of Kirovakan do not have even a small gallery or place for creative meetings.

We cannot fail to be concerned about such an urgent problem as "The Artist and the City," continued the speaker. One of the most important obligations of our union should be the aesthetic composition of the urban environment, public buildings and residential areas.

Yet how is the look of the city being formed today? That question should be of concern not only to us, but to the Yerevan City Soviet as well. But we do not always see an appropriate, well-planned approach. The current level of city planning and life in the modern city urgently demand direct involvement by artists, who are people with a well-developed sense of the beautiful. Today it is impossible to imagine further development of the modern city without artists' participation. They should participate most actively not only in the planning of new streets and housing complexes, but also in the preservation of architectural and historical monuments and in

ensuring that they harmonize with the city landscape and create a natural link between man and his environment. Artists should help preserve both the new and the historical elements in the image of the city and aid in its aesthetic composition. Questions pertaining to advertising or any other visual information in the city environment should not be resolved without the decision of a board including artists.

When speaking of the problem of "The Artist and the City" we should not lose sight of such an important aspect as preservation of cultural heritage. We all remember the sad times in our recent history, beginning with the 1930's, when a whole series of original monuments were demolished. As strange and surprising as it may seem, we are seeing similar things happening today. Valuable, centuries-old historical monuments and buildings have been destroyed before our very eyes. A majority of new buildings do not blend in harmoniously with their surroundings.

We should be seriously alarmed by problems of this type. We not only should not repeat the mistakes of the distant past, said S. Muradyan, but also strive in everything we do to recoup our losses.

Thereupon the congress heard a report from the auditing commission of the Armenian Union of Artists, delivered by A. Kolozyan, commission chairman.

A report on the work of the ArSSR Artists Fund was given by S. Andranikyan, the fund's chairman of the board and first secretary of the board of the Union of Artists.

There followed discussion of the reports.

The work of the congress will continue.

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#### **New Organization For Contacts With Azeris Abroad**

*Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 31 Dec 87 p 3*

[Azerinform article: "The 'Veten' Society Has Been Created"]

[Excerpts] On the eve of the new year a significant event has taken place in the social and cultural life of Azerbaijan: due to social initiative a republic "Veten" Society for cultural ties with the expatriate community has been established. A conference held on 28 December at the M. Magomayev Azgosfilarmoniya was devoted to the formation of the society.

Secretary R.E. Mekhtiyev of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan CP gave a speech on the tasks and fundamental directions of activity of the newly-created society.

The creation of this organization, he said, was called for by an entire series of circumstances and conditions. First among these is the task which stands before all of the country's social organizations: carrying out the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the program of peace, the only genuine path to a nuclear-free future for mankind. In our day the movement to broaden and strengthen cultural ties between the USSR and foreign countries, a large part of which is the development of good relations with expatriates, reflects the democratic nature of our social structure and the aspirations of the Soviet people for peace and friendship with other peoples.

The establishment in our republic of the "Veten" Society is the natural result of the efforts to strengthen ties with expatriates, who have their own history and traditions, which has gone on for many years. The Azerbaijan Society of Friendship and Cultural Ties With Foreign Countries conducts multifaceted work with expatriates, seeing this as one of the most important aspects of its foreign political and informational propaganda activity.

Many facts testify to the restructuring of viewpoints and moods in the expatriate community, an increasingly large portion of which recognizes the necessity of strengthening ties with our country—an Azeri cultural center has been established in the capital of Denmark; an Azeri cultural society has opened in the French city of Strasbourg; there are Azerbaijan friendship societies in Spain, the FRG, Turkey, and West Berlin; and similar organizations are operating in Sweden and Switzerland.

Emphasizing the importance of strengthening cultural contacts with expatriates, the speaker also noted that efforts currently being made in this direction are not of a purposeful and consistent nature. The ties which are taking shape are not being sufficiently strengthened. The expatriate community is insufficiently attracted to participation in the activities of Soviet cultural centers overseas. The essence of the restructuring which is taking place in our country and in Azerbaijan is not being fully revealed in the information made available to this community.

Important tasks confront the "Veten" Society in this regard. It must strive to deepen the ties already forming between the people of our republic and the expatriate community. This community must be made more aware of the accomplishments of the USSR and of Soviet Azerbaijan in the areas of cultural formation and of the processes of restructuring and democratization that are taking place in society. "Veten" must singlemindedly clarify the peace-loving foreign policy course of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, and the aspirations of the Soviet people for peace on our planet.

The conference adopted a resolution and chose a board of directors, a presidium, an auditing commission, and ratified the regulations of the republic "Veten" Society. Elchin [secretary of the administration of the Azerbaijan Writers Union] was elected presidium chairman.

**Journal Gives Facts, Figures on Soviet Films**  
*18000059 Moscow AGITATOR in Russian No 20, Oct 87 (signed to press 30 Sep 87) pp 35-36*

[Article under the rubric: "Questions and Answers:"  
"Art, Loved By the People"]

[Text] [Question] I am preparing a discussion on Soviet films. I have gathered books and magazines and these have interesting material, but they lack figures and facts. Could you advise me as to which sources I might turn? (T. Ryabukhina, Moscow)

[Answer] On 27 August 1919, V.I. Lenin signed a Soviet of People's Commissars decree on the nationalization of the film industry. In 1979, a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree established this day as Soviet Film Day.

Today there are 38 film studios in the country. They include Mosfilm, Lenfilm, Soyuzmultfilm, the Central Studio for Documentary Films, the Sverdlovsk Studio, the Studio imeni A.P. Dovzhenko, and the Central Film Studio for Children's and Youth Films imeni M. Gorkiy. Film workers have their own creative organization—the USSR Union of Cinematographers, which brings together over 6,640 persons.

	Film Production		
	1980	1985	1986
Full-length films, all	315	313	319
including:			
artistic (including television and film performances)	273	276	271
Short films (not including film magazines), all	1,329	1,456	1,410

The best works of Soviet cinematography possess permanent importance in upbringing. They discuss present-day problems and preserve for our descendants the enthusiasm of the first 5-year plans, the unparalleled heroism of the people during the Great Patriotic War.

In 1986 the USSR State Prize was awarded to the artistic films "Torpedo Bomber" (Lenfilm) and "Scarecrow" (Mosfilm); to a documentary chronicle of the BAM, to the Soviet-Indian film "Nehru" and to the television film "Fathers and Sons."

	1940	1986
Number of film projectors with paid shows (at the end of the year), thousands including:	28.0	152.7
in urban settlements	8.5	30.0
in rural areas	19.5	122.7
Number of film viewers, billions	0.9	3.9

In 1986, each resident attended an average of 14 film showings.

Of the new artistic films shown in 1986, over half were produced by domestic studios, 24 percent were from the socialist countries and 19 percent were from other countries.

Children are our most active viewers. In 1986, 11,493,000 film showings were organized for them, which over 870 million attended.

#### Recent Most Popular Films

Title	Studio	Year Produced	Number of Viewers (millions)
White Roses	Belarusfilm	1984	36.1
The Shore (2 parts)	Mosfilm	1984	about 24.4
Scarecrow (2 parts)	Mosfilm	1984	about 23.7
Shelter the Lonely	Mosfilm	1984	23.2
Cruel Romance (2 parts)	Mosfilm	1984	about 22.0
Foxhole	Kirgizfilm	1984	about 21.4
Winter Cherries	Lenfilm	1985	32.1
Victory (2 parts)	Mosfilm	1985	about 20.3
Most Charming and Attractive	Mosfilm	1985	44.9
Go and See (2 parts)	Belarusfilm	1986	about 28.9
Flight 222 (2 parts)	Lenfilm	1986	about 34.7 (for 14 months)
Repentance (2 parts)	Gruziya-Film	1987	5.8 (for 1 month)

The All-Union Film Festival is the traditional annual showing of the best works of Soviet cinematography. The latest festival was held in Tbilisi in May 1987. Its prize winners were "Repentance" (Gruziya-Film), "The Long Farewell" (Odessa Studio), and "A Dead Man's Letter" (Lenfilm). Its award-winning films for children and youth were: "A Pale and Freckled Stranger" (Kazakhfilm with the participation of Mosfilm) and "Iona" (Moldavofilm), and for documentaries: "Is it Easy Being Young?" (Riga Studio).

Our cinematographers participate in international film festivals. In 1986, 14 Soviet artistic pictures and 13 documentary, scientific-popular and animated films received high awards.

The regular 15th International Film Festival was held in Moscow in 1987, under the traditional motto "For Humanism in Film Art, for Peace and Friendship Among Peoples," in which over 90 countries participated.

Our country presented an artistic film, "Courier" (director K. Shakhnazarov), a short film, "Chernobyl. Chronicle of Difficult Weeks" (director V. Shevchenko), the Soviet-Swedish work "Mio, My Mio," directed by V. Grammatikov, and an animated film, "Lafert's Poppy-Head" (director Ye. Marchenko).

The labors of our film artists enjoy universal recognition. The facts attest to this. Among the members of the USSR Union of Cinematographers there are 17 Heroes of Socialist Labor, 14 Lenin Prize winners, 313 USSR State Prize winners, 432 union republic State Prize winners, 227 Leninist Komsomol Prize winners, 65 winners of the Prize imeni M.V. Lomonosov, and 97 persons awarded Medals imeni A.P. Dovzhenko. Honorary titles have been conferred upon 1,886 members of the Union of Cinematographers (as of January 1986).

Cinematography in our country is not a matter only for professionals. Thousands of independent film collectives are busy working in many palaces of culture, clubs, cultural-educational institutions of trade unions and of ministries of culture, in schools, houses and Pioneer palaces, and in stations for young technicians. Over 130 republic and oblast clubs—amateur film laboratories—function in the country. The Amateur Film and Video Society enjoys great popularity in Latvia, Lithuania, Moldavia and Armenia.

Currently, the film club movement is acquiring a new impetus. The USSR Union of Cinematographers jointly with USSR Goskino, the VTsSPS and the Komsomol Central Committee plan to establish a new all-union organization—the Friends of Film Society. This society is intended to be able to unite representatives of the

country's film clubs, film and video amateurs, and film education and film upbringing representatives. A constituent conference is planned for the fall of 1987.

A showing of amateur films will be held within the framework of the Second All-Union Festival of National Creativity, dedicated to the 70th anniversary of Great October.

Many Soviet nonprofessional cinematographic collectives have also participated in international showings, in particular, the national children's animation studio

"Vesnyanka" of the Dnepropetrovsk station for young technicians, "Florichika" (Moldavia) and others, the works of which have received high awards.

Over 700,000 persons attend permanently functioning film lecture-halls and film universities.

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### **Militiaman Blasts Bureaucracy, Demands Restructuring**

*18000113a Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 87 p 3*

[Article by V. Zhura, militia captain and chief of Novozavodskiy Rayon Department of Internal Affairs, Chernigov: "Let's Talk Without Pride"; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The author of this article only recently became a party worker. Assigned to organs of internal affairs, he encountered a number of problems which are retarding the process of restructuring in the mechanism of law enforcement. It is quite possible that his point of view will strike "professionals" as somewhat questionable. But nevertheless the sincerity and acute interest with which the author poses the important questions demands serious consideration.

Probably this feeling is familiar to others besides myself.... You open up the newspaper and in it—criticism directed toward us, directed toward the militia. And even though they might not be talking about you, you still feel ashamed...heavy-hearted.

Not to cover it up, coarseness, arrogance, excessive pride, toadying and protectionism, and incompetence are not such very rare occurrences in the militia. And from this it is only a short step to malfeasance, violations of socialist law, degeneration, and outright betrayal of state interests.

What is the reason why what is supposed to be the people's militia frequently becomes the object of justified criticism, and behind the backs of its employees you hear the spiteful sound: "You're all the same." Why does the cool breeze of alienation waft between it and the people it is supposed to protect? Frequently even legitimate actions of workers of internal affairs organs are regarded as an encroachment on the rights and interests of citizens, and are greeted with direct opposition on the part of the public. What is this? Legal nihilism, the loss of the militia's authority, imperfection of legislation, or something else?

...In the hall of the Chernigov Oblispolkom Administration of Internal Affairs, they are looking at visitors with photographs of 30 militia employees who were killed in peacetime in the line of duty. City streets have been given the names of so many slain militiamen. But what do people know about them? Specifically, about each person who gave up his young—or not so young—life for people? Who among the uninitiated knows what the work of militia employees really consists of, its profound significance and complexity?

Let us talk without pride. The negative phenomena of the stagnant period have justifiably been ascribed to the activities of internal affairs organs. Bureaucracy, the

unwarranted ballooning of the apparatus of administration, overprecise demarcation of duties within departments. Mistakes and distortions in cadre policies.... Of course, not all of this can be corrected overnight. But facts are facts: we have still not even touched much of this "legacy." We can perceive that in the central apparatus of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, vital, healthy processes are occurring. But these shifts slow their pace as they approach the lower links of internal affairs divisions, those which literally determine the face of the militia as a whole. An abundance of orders, directives, and recommendations of a compulsory nature come in throngs to their direct executors. As before, inertia and pious faith in the almighty document rule here, there, and everywhere. People put their trust in papers, by papers they give their assessments of work, and there is much waiting if the necessary document (the "response," as it is called) is missing. From top to bottom, inspectors' audits in essence reduce to the accumulation of negative facts, while the audit itself knocks the ordinary professionals completely off course for over a month, since all the subsequent time goes toward compiling substantiating documents.

Apart from inspectors' audits, there is an endless procession of local representatives from administrations and main administrations with so-called practical assistance, which essentially once again reduces to audits and nerve strain. This misbegotten practice has become so entrenched that it is actually unthinkable to organize work in any other manner. Restructuring consists of changing the posters on the same old storefronts or heating up the atmosphere under the guise of increasing exactingness, which in the final result makes the atmosphere impossible to work in.

Errors in the style of administration, selection, deployment, and training of cadres which are permitted, in their turn, at the level of ministries of internal affairs, are as a rule fraught with grave consequences at the city and rayon levels, where even to this day there is a great qualitative and quantitative shortage of personnel. Moreover, it took shape largely thanks to the subjectively interpreted concept of increasing personal responsibility for the assigned task. Educational work in collectives was autocratically replaced by the campaign to purify the ranks, but then it was possible to report on immediate and decisive measures. An approach long, long since condemned, but still alive. Unfortunately, even now the misguided practice of arbitrary administration and punishments has not been stopped.

Of course, in many ways I am taking the narrow, "parochial" view of a leader of the lowest link. But I am convinced that many mistakes permitted in formulating the decisions which will touch on the interests of the services "at the bottom" could be avoided if at the preliminary stage the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs would take counsel with those who will be carrying out these decisions directly. Alas, at the present this is not done. For example, take this fact. People are saying that



a document is being prepared concerning improving the investigation apparatus of internal affairs organs, and rumors are going around that it will include measures to improve anti-pilfering and criminal investigation work. A great deal is being said about it. But what do we know about it here, far from the ministerial offices?

The issue of reexamining the system of indicators and their assessments of the activity of many services of internal affairs organs has been urgent for some time. Quantitative indicators serve as a kind of screen to hide the true state of affairs. In addition, they may be interpreted in many different ways. For example, an anti-pilfering service, contenting itself with gross volume, can coexist splendidly side by side with major thieves without even suspecting them. On the other hand, instances of uncovering economic crimes which have gone on for years and cost the state millions in losses are held against them—people say that they failed to prevent the crime.

Divisional inspectors, state auto inspectorate workers, and others find themselves in such a situation. On the one hand, a gross-volume indicator which is on a rising trend can be prized as showing the high activity of one worker or another, and on the other hand the worker may be blamed because they say he has bred a crop of law violators. But after all their number is still calculated by painstakingly compiled reports. Isn't it this dual approach which has created, in a certain segment of the population, the absurd conviction that the militia have plans to meet for reports, fines, and even arrests. And probably it is no accident that a conscientious worker, who knows how to work with people, who uses authority without heavy-handed overadministration, is counted among the laggards in his own department.

Workers in criminal investigation are in constant pursuit of increased quantitative indicators. Here the percentage-mania at all levels sometimes frankly forces them to actions which, to put it mildly, are unethical from the point of view of the law. And this occurs because a criminal investigation service at the rayon level does not realistically have the capacity to uncover every crime, and this must be candidly acknowledged. The extremely scanty technical equipment, the truncated time periods for investigating reports of crimes, the unavailability of expert opinions without instituting criminal charges, the mass of contradictions and subjective judgments about the presence or absence of a corpus delicti—all of this brings them to an impasse.

The clearest shortcomings in the organization of activities of internal affairs organs can be seen in the example of the service of divisional inspectors of the militia. It is fully obvious that the divisional inspector, as the central figure in the territory being examined, must have a precisely defined circle of authority and feasible capacities for taking a decision independently. Today his independence is limited. Any legal action against violators can be carried out by a divisional inspector only through the leadership of the department, not a single

decision can be made by him personally. Even requisitions and information cannot come from the divisional inspector. But after all, the level of training of this classification of employees already gives the right to procedural independence.

More must be done, in my view, to put all militia workers under absolutely objectively equal conditions, and to determine wages based on the quality of work. But this, naturally, requires reinterpretation of the criteria for evaluating the activity of each service, and each employee, of law enforcement organs.

Radical restructuring is needed in the chief working link of the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs—the local department of internal affairs. After all, it is here that all the unresolved central problems have become concentrated. It would seem that under conditions where on the one hand city and rayon organs are controlled horizontally by the soviets and vertically by administrations, and on yet another hand by the procurators from above, that their lawful activity is practically guaranteed. But under such an approach, the saying "too many cooks..." finds its full confirmation. A number of gross violations of socialist legality are frequently connected with just this multilayered subordination. As the saying goes, you don't know which god you have to pray to or whom you have to please.

And there is so much bureaucracy, so much paper is required in bringing an individual to work in the organs, and later to transfer or promote him! There is no end to the coordinations at all levels, the resolutions, the observation of various formulas of this type: membership in the party is indispensable, this type of VUZ is indispensable, but not that.... The chaos is great but you will see that there is complete indifference to the individual and to the work. Just as long as everything is in order in the reports on quantitative status. We have forgotten how to value people for their personal qualities, and more and more often rely on papers and "in accordance with." It is also necessary to reexamine wages paid to workers. It cannot be considered normal when some work to exhaustion and others work lackadaisically, but all have identical wages. The one-shot forms of material and moral incentives which are currently used do not solve this problem.

A long time could be spent in listing the large and small problems of the militia, and an appropriate question might be evoked: but where is it any different? Yes, it is true, in all places many more unresolved questions have accumulated than answers to them. But answer these questions we must. After all, a great deal is entrusted to us militia workers, and to me personally. A very great deal. And so restructuring the activity of internal affairs organs demands glasnost and democratism, and particularly unwavering attention and followup on the part of the party and the people.

**TV Documentary Exposes Police Involvement in Food Theft Racket**

18000113b Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Nov 87  
p 7

[Article by S. Gornov: "Quagmire"]

[Text] For 3 nights in a row, the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of December, television viewers will be able to see, on Central Television Broadcasting Channel 1, an extraordinary documentary serial prepared by the creative group of the show "Man and the Law."

It will discuss the exposure of a large group of thieves in food enterprises of Volgograd who were protected by militia workers. Yuriy Krauze, the author of the show, discusses it:

"We wanted to show the actual mechanism of the crimes, all the stages of the corruption and bribery which linked the food enterprise workers and the militia. We first came to Volgograd in April. The investigation was already over. Many of the criminals had already been arrested. The city was stirred up. Then more than 50 individuals appeared in the dock, including the chief of the oblast Administration of Internal Affairs, his deputy, and two administration chiefs of the Administration of Internal Affairs.

"We talked with many people. We were at a meeting between the new leadership of the oblast Administration of Internal Affairs and the workers and engineers of the Krasnyy Oktyabr Plant. People's indignation was understandable. How could this occur? How could this have gone on for so long? We tried to give an answer to part of the questions in the program. We shot scenes both in the interrogation room and at the food enterprises. These things were clear: the militia workers had closed their eyes to the misappropriation, and in return they took from the thieves whatever they wanted, not turning up their noses at either the vodka or the money.

"You will watch and listen as one of the criminals is questioned: 'Could you have refused the assignments?'

"'No,' he replies. 'I could not have worked there any longer if I did....'

"We received a lot of help in our work from employees of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Main Administration of Antipilfering, headed by deputy chief K. Kosterin. The new leadership of the oblast Administration of Internal Affairs helped us. And so, together, we made this program which, we think, can become a serious lesson."

12255

**Official Interviewed on Possible Court Reforms**

Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian  
4 Dec 87 p 2

[Interview by N. Boyarkina of Aleksandr Mikhaylovich Filatov, chairman of the judicial collegium for criminal matters of the USSR Supreme Court, on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Soviet court system]

[Text] [Question] The formative stage of the Soviet judicial system occurred during difficult years. A struggle was underway against counterrevolution, economic ruin, and famine. The principles of the new court created by the revolution differ, of course, from the bourgeois court. But Lenin said that one must not thoughtlessly throw out the experience of the past and we also need to learn from the bourgeoisie. So what from the past did we take into the revolution and what was categorically rejected?

[Answer] The first worker-peasant courts had already begun to operate before the decree disbanding the bourgeois bureaucratic judicial apparatus. The new court was formed on the basis of democratic elections. This primary principle generated by the revolution still prevails today.

Instead of justices of the peace appointed to the courts by the powers that be, peoples assessors appeared in the court.

Even before the revolution Lenin had exposed the tsarist court, which the people hated; after all, he knew its principles from personal experience. Vladimir Ilich wrote: "Judges who play lackey to the bourgeoisie can nullify even the liberties guaranteed by the constitution, when it is a matter of the struggle of labor and capital."

But we cannot say that the bourgeois court did not give us anything. After all, it had imbibed the history of centuries. The principles of irreversibility of punishment and the presumption of innocence had already appeared in the age of Roman law and in the age of capitalism. They are still modern today.

But the most important distinguishing feature of our court as compared to the bourgeois court is its democratic nature, the broad involvement of the working people in participation in its activities.

[Question] The revolutionary decree on the court system abolished the old legal institutions: district courts, judicial offices, and commercial, military, and maritime courts. It seems to me that there is a kernel of reason in this kind of court specialization. But what happens with us today? The same judge hears divorce cases and cases of economic crimes. Yet we know that you cannot be a specialist in all fields at the same time...

[Answer] To some degree I agree with you. Some socialist countries have the so-called economic courts. But in our country disputes between enterprises are reviewed

by the State Arbitration Tribunal, while the courts have judges who specialize in hearing administrative matters. But that is only in the large cities, and in small populated points the judges really do have to hear cases of different categories.

The question of specialization of courts and judges is being discussed by lawyers, and I think it will be resolved.

[Question] There are vigorous debates today about the wisdom of bringing back jurors. Inevitable parallels are drawn with the peoples assessors in our system. Some consider the role of the peoples assessor to be purely a formality: they are there, and that is all. Others think that the number of peoples assessors should be increased to the number of jurors in the bourgeois court, and then we would avoid judicial errors, subjectivism in evaluations, and so on. What is your point of view on these disputes?

[Answer] Just mechanically increasing the number of peoples assessors will not strengthen legality nor will it reduce the number of judicial mistakes. I agree that the participation of the peoples assessor in court is often a formality. I know of cases where it suddenly became clear in court that the peoples assessors had only a superficial familiarity with the case, in general outline only, as they say. But this is not a flaw in the judicial system. This is the fault of a particular peoples court and its chairman, who did not properly organize education of the peoples assessors.

Peoples assessors also participate in the work of the USSR Supreme Court when it conducts trials. They study the file thoroughly and carefully. And I simply cannot imagine a court trial without their participation. Their evaluations, opinions, and recommendations are very important. The peoples assessors in the case of the accident at the Chernobyl AES were highly qualified specialists in the field of nuclear energy. Their consultation was very important to the court.

[Question] Three years ago in this newspaper you told about the work of the USSR Supreme Court. Among other things you said that this supreme judicial body does not have the right to make mistakes, for there is nowhere beyond it to which to appeal. And that to preclude errors a case is heard not by one judge alone, but by two or three judges. In that case, why not also increase the number of judges hearing a case to two or three in the peoples court?

[Answer] Well, in the first place, the decision or verdict in the peoples courts is made by a body of three people, the judge and the peoples assessors.

In the second place, both their actions and their decisions can be appealed to higher levels and to procuracy organs.

In the third place, as far as I know such proposals are being received by the USSR Ministry of Justice from both citizens and from lawyers themselves. A discussion of a draft of new fundamentals of criminal legal procedure for the USSR and the Union republics is planned in the near future. I think that this proposal will be among those considered during discussion of the new legislation.

[Question] Restructuring has touched all spheres of the people's life, including the work of the courts. What are the first results?

[Answer] The courts recently have greatly raised the standards demanded of the court investigation and begun to evaluate the evidence gathered more critically. This is illustrated, among other things, by the rise in the number of not guilty verdicts. In 1986 there were almost one-third more such verdicts than in 1985, and in the first half of 1987 there were almost twice as many as in the same period of 1986. A larger number of cases have been sent for additional investigation compared to last years.

The higher courts have begun to take a more demanding and critical approach to verdicts delivered by peoples courts. In 1986 and the first half of 1987 the number of verdicts reversed and modified by appeal and supervisory bodies on appeals by attorneys and convicted persons rose. The transition in 1988 to new methods of economic activity, the expansion of enterprise economic independence, and the introduction of cost accounting create conditions for overcoming the old trend toward unjustified overuse of criminal means in places where the matter should be decided by economic methods or by application of civil law norms.

To improve the judicial system there should be changes in the procedures by which the attorney takes part in the court investigation. At the present time the defense lawyer participates in the case from the moment that the court investigation ends (except for cases of minors and certain others). Participation by the attorney at an earlier stage of the court investigation is reasonable and necessary. For example, in cases of persons brought to court under guard it seems wise to allow the attorney to participate from the time of the indictment, or even earlier, from the time of the arrest. This change will help guarantee the rights of the accused during the investigation.

The question of restructuring the investigative apparatus has come to a head. This apparatus should be concentrated at one organ, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and it would be better for the procuracy to carry out strict supervision of the court investigation.

Nonetheless, despite the measures that are being taken, the activities of many courts are not without serious shortcomings.

[Question] Do you mean judicial errors?

[Answer] Yes, unfortunately there are still many judicial errors. They run into the hundreds. The causes differ. One of them is inadequate training of judges and lack of the proper professional skills.

Court errors are largely linked to uncritical evaluation of the materials of the court investigation, failure to carry out the demands of the law for comprehensive, complete, and objective investigation of the circumstances of the case, the inability of some judges to correctly evaluate evidence, and the existence of an inclination toward guilty verdicts, although it has weakened noticeably in recent times.

The gravest error is convicting an innocent person. Doctor of Sciences Mekhtiyev with four colleagues was sentenced to 8 years loss of freedom by the Supreme Court of Azerbaijan for false reporting and waste of state capital.

The higher court investigation showed that the case had been investigated in a biased and superficial manner with flagrant violations of the law. The biased character of this verdict was obvious. It seems that this is a case where the court did not have the courage to perform its judicial duty. We can assume that the court was also influenced by the fact that the local press had run two articles condemning Mekhtiyev. As it turned out, the articles were not based on authentic facts. Despite the true situation public opinion was openly against Mekhtiyev; but this only made it that much more necessary for the court to be objective.

The judicial collegium for criminal matters of the USSR Supreme Court reversed the verdict. After a new investigation the case was dismissed by the USSR Procuracy for lack of a criminal event. Justice triumphed, but it cost an innocent man great suffering.

Court errors are very often the result of pressure on the judges by local authorities and officials, in other words, as a result of violation of the constitutional principle of independence of judges and subordination to the law alone. Cases of pressure have been uncovered in the Uzbek SSR and Voroshilovgrad, Rostov, and other oblasts.

[Question] The judges who permit such errors will undoubtedly be punished. I don't know how much better this makes a person whom this judge put through suffering feel. Do we have a system of material or moral compensation for an individual's losses caused by the court?

[Answer] A rehabilitated person is paid material compensation for the time that he could not work while he was illegally under investigation and trial. But overall this system is imperfect, nor can it be perfect. After all,

no apologies and no amount of money can erase this pain, this hurt. There is only one answer here, prevent such things from happening.

[Question] Hasn't the need for closed court sessions disappeared in the age of glasnost?

[Answer] According to Article 12 of the Fundamentals of Criminal Legal Procedure of the USSR and Union Republics all cases receive open hearings except cases where this conflicts with the interests of protecting state secrets.

In addition, the closed court hearing is permitted in cases of crimes by persons who have not reached 16 years of age, sex crimes, and other cases to avoid divulging information about the intimate facets of the life of the persons involved in the case.

But the decisions of courts are proclaimed publicly in all cases.

[Question] In your opinion, what should be the role of the Komsomol organization in a case where the accused is a Komsomol member?

[Answer] There can be a long and intelligent discussion on that question, but in the meantime I want to say how things are in reality. At the present time this role is so negligible that it is shameful to mention. There are hundreds of cases where people carrying Komsol cards arrive in the prison colony. The Komsomol did not have time or forgot to expel them for the crime committed.

The Komsomol today is more carried away with economic questions, and indoctrination matters have become secondary. Maybe I am wrong, but that is my personal opinion. Somehow it is not acceptable today to talk about the personal accountability of a Komsomol leader for the behavior of those he leads. Over-organization makes it hard to look each other over and to understand when a person who has strayed needs help and what kind.

It is very rare today for the Komsomol organization to petition to the court or the procuracy on behalf of its own, or even a former, Komsomol member. The form of cooperation with the court where the accused is taken on community bail is being forgotten. But this was once a very effective form.

[Question] I am sorry to say it, Aleksandr Mikhaylovich, but there is a common belief that if you get involved with the court it will exhaust you, you will wear out your shoes, it will cost you more than you win, and so on. This all comes down to the same thing, that courts are in no hurry to hear civil cases. But in the West you can hire a private attorney to handle cases. We do not have such forms of attorney work. Perhaps that is a mistake?

[Answer] You ask me two questions at once there. I will answer the first one first. I think that a working person cannot afford to have a private attorney. In the West this pleasure costs thousands of dollars a year; after all, you have to pay even when there are no cases.

As for red tape in hearing cases, that often arises from the hopeless overloading of judges with cases...

[Question] But after all, this is a special time. The newspapers keep on reporting the trials of major bribe-takers and manipulators who lived it up during the time of stagnation. Even judging by these articles the work of the courts has increased. But we see that even without this the judges are overloaded...

[Answer] Restructuring demands a scientific approach in our work. Research is underway that will answer the question: what is the optimal number of judges to have, for example, for 10,000 population? With the help of science we will answer this question too.

As you can see, the courts still have many problems and tasks, a lot of work. And I am glad that our conversation is ending on such a problematic note. More than anything I did not want our discussion to be like a formal anniversary report. It is too early to summarize results.

11176

### **Moscow Officials Answer for Mass Arrest of 'Hippies'**

18000048a Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Oct 87 p 2

[Unsigned article under the rubric: "After Our Publication:" "What Happened on the Boulevard"]

[Text] "What Happened on the Boulevard"—this is the title of an article published in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* on 3 July 1987. The editors have received official responses from the Moscow Gorispolkom Main Administration for Internal Affairs [GUVd] and the Moscow procurator's office.

In its response, GUVd reports that, on the matter of taking a group of young people to the 60th militia precinct, as well as of the bodily injuries received by citizens F.B. Pakovich and Yu.I. Rimanova, an official investigation was conducted.

It was established that approximately 100 people who considered themselves "hippies" had gathered on Gogolevskiy Boulevard on 4 May 1987. As indicated in the report, they were ignoring generally accepted standards of behavior in interacting among themselves.

The deputy chief of the 60th militia precinct, A.A. Zabrodin, arriving with a detachment, incorrectly assessed the situation forming there and aggravated it by putting three people into the official vehicle to be taken

to the militia precinct. Subsequently, the young people surrounded the automobile containing those being held and, blocking its movement, lay upon the ground. They did not respond to requests and demands to clear the roadway. Upon arrival of additional forces, the group was dispersed and 58 people were taken to the militia precinct.

For tactically ignorant actions and the failure to take official measures to prevent and localize conflict, which led to complication of the situation, A.A. Zabrodin, deputy chief of the 60th militia station, was warned about insufficient official responsibility. The officer on duty at the same militia station, K.I. Gaguyev, was reprimanded for failure to take measures to ascertain the circumstances under which citizens Yu.I. Rimanova and F.B. Pakovich received bodily injury.

V.D. Kisilev, chief of the Leninskiy RUVD [rayon administration for internal affairs], was reprimanded for being insufficiently demanding of his subordinates and having weak control over the organization of their work.

A.M. Mekhov, former department chief of the Leninskiy RUVD, who had been responsible on May 4 for said RUVD and had not ensured proper control over the work of militia detachments in preserving public order, was subjected to the same disciplinary punishment.

According to the results of an investigation conducted by the Leninskiy Rayon procurator's office and to the data of the forensic medical examination, the criminal case was dropped due to lack of corpus delicti on 29 July 1987.

In connection with the 4 May 1987 violation of the law committed by militia employees (the mass arrest of citizens) a formal statement was submitted to the chief of the Leninskiy RUVD on 30 June 1987 by the Leninskiy Rayon procurator's office.

13362

### **Youth Paper Examines Unofficial International Friendship Clubs**

18000048b Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Oct 87 p 4

[Article by Ye. Umerenkov: "Who, If Not We?"]

[Text] We have known about them for a long time. The first independent clubs for international solidarity, interbrigades, which send the money they earn into a fund for solidarity with the struggling peoples of Latin America, and unpaid labor detachments sprung up about 15 years ago. They were created by enthusiasts in VUZs, schools, Pioneer palaces, and houses of culture. Many Komsomol committees refused to assist them, and indeed everyone certainly put in a line about them in their reports, in the column "International Work." They knew there was something worthwhile in it, but to truly recognize it and



see that this is one of those very same shoots of the new, which we ask people to seek out in real life and support, protect and foster, was by no means within the ability of everyone.

For 15 years their work evoked no more than condescending approval from many Komsomol workers and was sometimes even regarded as little more than an amusement, "unsanctified" by the instructions of higher Komsomol authorities. Yet when the corresponding instructions appeared, for example, concerning the creation of KIDs (international friendship clubs), the "all-embracing approach" very often dried up the lively activity, and "approved forms" of work strangled initiative and extinguished interest.

There were many difficulties. Thus, when representatives of about 60 independent internationalist associations (approximately half of those existing in the country) met in Moscow for their first all-union meeting, not one of them thought that they would immediately manage to solve all the problems which had accumulated. Discussing them, outlining what must and can be solved in the first place, exchanging experience, becoming acquainted with one another, and finally winning full and equal recognition and support—with these goals in mind, they went to the meeting. Apparently they were right.

At the beginning of this year the social commission under the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Latin America established ties with the majority of the existing amateur interclubs, interbrigades and political song clubs. The Komsomol Central Committee supported the idea of an all-union meeting, passed a special resolution on this matter and provided the necessary organizational assistance. "A specific example of restructuring Komsomol work," is what one heard from those who came to the meeting. In reality, no one had tried to "formalize" them. It was suggested that they cooperate as equals. The movement, having proven the vitality which nourishes its initiatives and risen from below, received support precisely as an independent and self-managed movement for international youth solidarity. Functioning within the framework of the Komsomol, together with it, the movement is becoming essentially a part of the Komsomol.

However, why is it still independent? So much is being written and said about the "informals" and the "do-it-yourselfers" today! True, even more is being said about "punkers," "rockers," "metal-heads" and other lovers of exotica. Now and then even with a certain note of satisfaction: well, they say, we now also have... The rapid growth of amateur associations is natural, as a result of the democratization of our life, of the broad opportunities which are springing up for displaying social activity. Frankly speaking though, the impression is that the

majority of the "bracketed" recognize themselves as such with some prompting from the side. For the activity unifies, but the point is to hammer them together into a suitable form.

In this case, though, it is quite different. Here there is an issue. The interbrigades were not created according to a work order at all. They arose as the direct, sincere answer on the part of some of our young people to the revolutionary struggles of the people of Cuba, Chile, Nicaragua and El Salvador. And is it even really possible to feel compassion for the pain of another nation, to seek out possibilities for a specific expression of solidarity with it according to an instruction? The conviction of ideals, a noble impulse—this is what motivates the interbrigade members.

Undoubtedly, children are hardly running into a wall of indifference everywhere. For the twenty-second time, a Week of International Solidarity and Political Outing was held this year in Novosibirsk's Akademgorodok. Invariably, the Novosibirsk State University Komsomol Committee, which actively helps the Komsomol obkom, is the main sponsor of this most interesting event.

"Our movement is at a crucial stage in its development," emphasized many participants in the meeting. It is at a crucial stage not only in the sense of trying to coordinate it on an all-union scale, but also in the decisive expansion of its spheres of activity, a turn toward issues urgently raised today within our country. After all, the revolutionary events on the Latin American continent in the 1970s aroused such an active burst of youth solidarity in part because they offered an opportunity to feel and display one's own direct concern for the contemporary revolutionary process. A participation which, alas, it was difficult to sense in one's own home in those years. Today the revolutionary nature of the changes occurring in our society offers such an opportunity.

The 20th Komsomol Congress determined the way to extricate Komsomol work from its state of stagnation—through democratization, i.e., by developing the initiative and independence of youth itself. Only at the hands of the young people themselves is it possible to cleanse the Komsomol of the scab of bureaucratism and formalism and make it interesting for youth. In this sense an agreement, by no means staged, was struck at the meeting: "Who, if not we, should be in the vanguard of restructuring along with the party and the Komsomol?"—its participants asked themselves. "Who, if not we, will be able to vanquish formalism in our work?"—N. Paltsev, Komsomol Central Committee secretary, said in his speech.

The presence at the meeting of organizers and participants in Communard-teaching detachments, soviets of soldier-internationalists, and associations working on the preservation and restoration of historical and cultural monuments and on ecological issues, along with the representatives of interclubs and interbrigades, was

hardly accidental. Interaction and ties among them are not merely possible but necessary. The interbrigades include senior students and pupils from children's homes. Particularly painful statements were made at the meeting concerning the inadmissibility of indifference toward the fates of those who have fulfilled their international duty in Afghanistan, calling for urgent assistance to hospitals where the soldiers wounded in that country are being treated. Interaction is necessary, observed Leonid Naumov, a Muscovite from the "Lesnoy Narod" Association, which does pedagogical and ecological work, in order also clearly to set oneself against those "informals" who are oriented toward an ideology alien to us.

For the first time the question of the international work itself of interclubs and interbrigades was raised at the meeting. Should it be oriented only toward displaying solidarity with the peoples of foreign countries? What will they be able to do to strengthen friendship among the youth of peoples in our own multinational country? Events in Yakutiya, Alma-Ata and the Baltic areas have shown that this is not a pointless question.

Yuriy Borisovich Potapov, a teacher by training and vocation, came to the meeting from the city of Pokhvist-nevo in Kuybyshev Oblast, where for many years he led a political club and then an interbrigade. His senior students frequently spent the summer in Stravropol and worked with students from El Salvador. Each time he ran into great difficulties—first it was not allowed to have students and schoolchildren in the same detachment, then it was forbidden to include foreign students within it. However, the obstacles which he and his associates ended up running into last year were simply incomprehensible.

Potapov had conceived of creating a new communist interbrigade, the "15 Sisters." Senior class members from various republics of the country would meet in the summer in a single labor brigade in order, working together, to learn how to be friends and live in a multinational collective, to better learn about each other's culture, history and traditions. The first time, they wanted to invite children from Belorussia, the Ukraine, Latvia, Georgia and Uzbekistan. Yet only schoolchildren from Georgia came to work in the interbrigade.

"In Latvia the Komsomol committee worker to whom we turned said that I was dislodging her from the usual track. And if the children are to go beyond the borders of the republic to work in the summer, then, in her words, it would be for higher pay, and therefore the interbrigade would be of no use to them," said Yuriy Borisovich. "It was regrettable, for the Fourth Latvian Regiment fought in the civil war in our areas. We just wanted to acquaint our children with their coevals from Latvia. We turned for help to the veterans—to the Latvian Riflemen. They promised to help, but so far nothing has happened. In

Uzbekistan a call to the republic Minpros cut our efforts short. "We have not heard anything about this," they declared and did not wait to learn the particulars.

Here is an answer to the question of how interbrigades can struggle against manifestations of nationalism and whether or not it is worthwhile for them to do so. It should be noted that the Komsomol Central Committee representatives who attended the meeting, firmly promised to help form the "15 Sisters" interbrigade within the next year.

Sergey Lysenko, a member of the Odessa KID imeni Ernesto Che Guevara, mentioned a rather unexpected problem in his speech:

"Recently in our city manifestations of common racism have appeared; it cannot be called anything else. After numerous publications on AIDS and on the fact that all this is only "over there," a certain segment of the population, the young in particular, became hostile toward all foreigners in general. Not long ago a senior student joined the club. The work had attracted her. However, when they found out in her school that approximately half of the clubs members are from countries in Asia and Africa, they nearly ostracized her. The girl's distraught mother made a special visit to our meeting, in order to see for herself what we were doing there. And when she left, she admitted: "I never would have thought that we had children with such ideals."

In reality, ideals motivate them—international friendship, solidarity, and aid and cooperation among the progressive peoples of all countries.

...The conversations and discussions of like-minded people, who had gathered for three days in the capital hotel "Orlenok," ended long past midnight. The work of the three sections—organizational, information-coordination and ideological—made it possible to single out those questions which require urgent examination. As a result proposals were formulated which the meeting's participants sent to the Komsomol Central Committee. The basic problems, in the solution of which the help of Komsomol agencies is needed, include propaganda of the movement's goals in the Komsomol press and the development of a Resolution on Communist Brigades which would stipulate the possibilities for forming mixed age group and inter-VUZ brigades and for the participation of young workers in them.

It was decided to create regional coordination-information centers for the internationalist movement. It was planned to hold an all-union festival for political song collectives next spring, and in the fall, to hold a new meeting of interclub and interbrigade representatives from all countries. The Komsomol Central Committee intends to grant them the right to form construction brigades by themselves from a number of the better children, for work in Nicaragua.

**Tajik Women's Council Advocates Family Planning**

18300130a Dushanbe KOMMUNIST

TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 9 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by TadzhikTA correspondent N. Merezchnikova: "On Acute Problems"]

[Text] The last session of the Republic Women's Council was more urgent than ever before, touching on the most acute problems of our time.

No one could listen with indifference to the speech on family planning by S.Kh. Khakimova, director of the Tajik Scientific Research Institute for Health Care of Mothers and Children. And, indeed, how could one react calmly to the statistics which indicate a high infant mortality rate in our republic?

"Unfortunately," she said, "the frequent deaths among newborns are explained not only by an inadequate level of obstetric and pediatric care. As is shown by the research of scientists at the Tajik Scientific Research Institute for Health Care of Mothers and Children, frequent childbearing undermines women's health. It is also linked to the birth of weaker children, among whom the percentage of birth defects is growing. This is terribly dangerous, threatening the vitality of our nation.

"For years we kept quiet about this. One did not speak of these problems in the press. Silence did not reduce the danger, but merely kept it hidden.

"Last year at the institute we created a family planning service to preserve mothers' health and reduce infant mortality. A network of family planning centers has opened in Ordzhonikidzeabadskiy, Tursunzadevskiy, and Gissarskiy Rayons. In Ordzhonikidzeabad we created a school of leading experts on problems connected with scientifically-based family planning.

"But this is just a drop in the bucket. Scientists alone cannot solve the problem. We need the broad participation of medical workers and the public."

The members of the Republic Women's Council were unanimous in their support of S.Kh. Khakimova's speech.

"We are all for families with many children," said S.R. Radzhabova, department chief in the TaSSR Council of Ministers. "The state gives material support and moral approval to mothers with many children. But the time has come to decide collectively when to encourage lots of children and when to use family planning. Glasnost opens the way for public discussion of these questions. Why shouldn't we hold a press conference on this topic with the participation of leading medical workers, opening the problem to broad discussion in the press?"

"Now it is time to go from words to deeds. We talk a lot. But all the 'overtures' are already exhausted. Now we need concrete action."

No less interesting was the speech of the deputy chairman of the Garmskiy Women's Council, S.R. Rafiyeva.

The work of the Garmskiy Women's Council on the legal education of women was being discussed 3 years ago. What has been done during this time? What has changed or improved?

Standard, rote phrases, boring text in which there is no evidence of life or living people. And suddenly. . .

"But is it really only a matter of lectures? Earlier we conducted 13 lectures a year—now we conduct 130. But what has changed? We have the same old patriarchal customs. As before, people marry off their daughters without registering the marriage; they pay bride prices. Last year T. Murodova finished 10th grade. She took a lethal dose of sleeping pills. Many women are afraid of going against their husbands' wishes. An extreme case in point: a gynecologist refuses to make a house call to a patient at night because her husband does not permit it.

"In other words, our lectures are not working. They are not helping women to value themselves as individuals, to believe in their rights, which are guaranteed by law. Women's councils need to search for vital and effective working methods."

Many members of the Women's Council spoke on what these methods should be. Leninabad Obkom Secretary B.F. Rakhimova suggested that they should use the experience of legal propaganda.

Here once a week on a strict schedule the oblast's leading lawyers drive out into remote areas. They hold discussions in brigades, on farms, and in homes, where they talk with housewives. It is easier to speak openly and trustingly in such unofficial surroundings.

Tajik Communications Minister D.I. Popov spoke at the session of the Republic Women's Council. He spoke about working conditions and the situation of women working in the republic Ministry of Communications. A proposal was made to conduct such discussions at on-site sessions—they would be more effective.

M.Kh. Khakimova, editor of ZANONI TODZHIKISTON, described the editorial board's work plan; I.R. Rakhimova told about a meeting in Moscow of veterans of the women's movement.

Resolutions were made on the questions under discussion. They are aimed at concrete action. Time will tell what form this action will take.

### **Tongue-in-Cheek Letter Hits Residential Service Failures**

18300050a Dushanbe *KOMMUNIST*  
*TADZHIKISTANA in Russian* 31 Oct 87 p 3

[Under the rubric "Letters to the Editor", an open letter to Yuriy Borisovich Kostarev, minister of Housing and Municipal Services for the Tadzhik SSR, and Maksud Musakulovich Ikramov, chairman of the ispolkom of the Dushanbe city Soviet of Peoples' Deputies, "I Want to be a Bureaucrat"]

[Text] Dear Yuriy Borisovich and Maksud Musakulovich,

Nowadays when one can move to any old job, my proposal will not seem like a display of immodesty. Rather, it will show that I have run out of patience. I want to apply for any job in the housing and municipal services area but no lower than chief of the city housing administration. My bravery and confidence is based on the following:

First of all, thanks to those upon whom we depend for certain everyday comforts, I have mastered the psychology of the ordinary apartment-dweller who hopes naively that action will be taken on his applications to various departments.

Judge for yourself. I have been expecting hot water in my ninth-floor apartment for a year and three months, and I continue to believe the promises that this "will be taken care of". I have been waiting a year and three months for a resolution to my question about supplying cold water to my apartment around-the-clock; I am still waiting. I have been waiting a year for promised repairs to my roof.

Such a long period has given me the opportunity to study in-depth, and not in the textbook way as they say, the tenant's craving for attention. I am convinced that if I were chief, I have the "key" for dealing with any such neive soul who turned to me because...

But I am already getting into the "secondly". Secondly, long and fruitless negotiations by phone with various responsible individuals have allowed me "to put myself in the place" of those to whom I have turned for help. Therefore, in dealing with them, I have gained invaluable experience in the bureaucratic approach to problem solving. The main thing is to use two factors: citing that nature is uncontrollable, and filling the applicant with hope that his wishes will be carried out.

Rain and snow, of course, do not coordinate with you their appearance in the atmosphere or in my apartment, so all the blame must be dumped on this. Furthermore, for example, in summer you can cite the drought and, in winter, the excessive abundance of water which you are unable to purify or heat; and so on.

A real-life, tried-and-tested method is to transfer the complaint or application to a related organization which will turn it over to yet another. As a result, the ordinary apartment-dweller gets confused as to who is responsible and, for that reason, he beaten down in the search for the truth. Though, if you send the applicant a paper which gives the appearance that his (the applicant's) entreaties will be satisfied in the unforeseeable future, then this is even more reliable. It would be even better for the that applicant if you pour limitless amounts of water to tenantless faucets, flowing at countless planning meetings and conferences to prepare the city for winter.

I do not intend, however, to give away the work methods of bureaucrats for dealing with hot and cold water and leaky roofs because I am afraid of competition. My neighbors have these very same problems and I could lose out in the job competition. Nevertheless, I repeat my proposition because I have come to the definite conclusion that an organization headed by me has nothing to lose and the tenants nothing to gain.

It is all quite simple. Not being a specialist in complicated city management, I will be the equal of those who head it, for you will not get any sense out either me or them. Is it not the same thing: one who cannot plan, who does not see the prospects for city development, and who does not take specific measures to correct shortcomings in the everyday life of townsfolk? In short, I can not work and collect wages with the same degree of success as the responsible individuals.

There are four possible results from what has been said above. The first is that hot and cold water will not be supplied to my apartment and my roof will not be repaired, but my candidacy will be approved.

The second is that hot water will be supplied, but the electricity will be shut off, the roof not fixed, and my candidacy will be reviewed.

The third is that the roof will be repaired but no water supplied, and my candidacy will be under discussion.

The fourth is that the roof will be repaired, hot and cold water will be supplied around-the-clock, and the heating will be fixed in winter. My candidacy will be turned down, but those upon whom we depend for the availability of water and for roof repair will pay more attention to their work.

Until it is decided which version is the most acceptable, I request that royalties from my letter go the ZhPEhT for garret hatch mechanism in my house.

K. Mustakimov No. 3 Koval Street Apartment 7

13254

### Scientist Describes Current Radiation Levels in Chernobyl

18000136a Kiev *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* in Russian  
19 Nov 87 p 2

[Special Correspondent A. Tertychnyy interviews Nikolay Pavlovich Arkhipov, chief of the radiobiological research laboratory in Pripyat, on radiation levels in Chernobyl, "Medicine for the Land"; under the rubric "Chernobyl: Life and Work"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] Pripyat, Kiev Oblast — Much that is unusual or unexpected can be seen under the glass roof of the greenhouse combine in Pripyat. Questions must be answered and who better to answer them than the boss. He turned out to be our friend, biological sciences candidate N. P. Arkhipov. Last fall and winter, he spoke more than once about the particulars of radiation contamination of the land, and possibilities and prospects for restoring normal vital activities in the thirty-kilometer zone. At that time, Nikolay Pavlovich was one of the representatives of the State Committee for Utilization of Atomic Energy. He is now chief of the radiobiological research laboratory at the "Kombinat" industrial association. Publication of the first interview with N. P. Arkhipov ["Curing the Land", *RABOCHAYA GAZETA*, 17 March, this year] evoked contradictory responses. Thus this interview...

[Question] Let us begin by returning to our first discussion. Last winter, you stated that virtually half of the agricultural land resources in the thirty-kilometer zone could be used for several types of commodity production, primarily animal husbandry, as early as this year. Many readers thought this appraisal of the radiation situation was too optimistic, and it looks very much like reality confirms their doubt: last summer, no agricultural work at all was conducted in the zone...

[Answer] But then, you see, if I may say so, you yourself wanted to hear those very same soothing words. You needed specific words inspiring hope and confidence, and that is what your newspaper got, along with appropriate explanations and reservations. Specifically, we emphasized the purely scientific aspects of the prognosis — that is, the theoretical possibility of obtaining products with a medically acceptable level of radionuclides. A great many other factors — social, economic, technical, organizational and psychological, affect the answering of the question of the advisability, or even more the necessity of conducting agricultural work in the zone. These factors are outside my expertise, just as I noted during the last interview.

[Question] I must accept your rebuke; indeed, after the accident I looked first of all for the optimistic side to the events in several publications. This was only partly

because of a conscious choice of information; it was primarily a subconscious desire to fight with confidence and composure the wildest, darkest rumors circulating among the population.

Both then and partly now, the effect on social psychology is known and unavoidable: when information is lacking and disinformation flourishes, and the more that objectives and real mistakes especially are "hidden" from illumination, then the more we have absurd rumors, particularly attractive and dangerous for their half-truths.

[Answer] Apparently we need to name the other obstacles to total illumination of the events of the past year in the thirty-kilometer zone. These are: the contradictory appraisals of the situation in different places, the changing of this situation, and the completeness of information over time. A number of scientists have given, and continue now to give different appraisals of the situation. Since the "covering" of power block four had not been completed, solutions had to be developed and implemented with the utmost speed and sparing no expense.

Today the situation has changed fundamentally: the source of fallout has been covered, personal safety has been assured, and the specialists have gained experience and additional knowledge. This year, the time has come to stop and look back; to check the forecasts of the past year against reality, and to map out a plan for the long term.

[Question] And just what does this "reconnaissance" show in general?

[Answer] First of all, primarily, notions about the behavior of radionuclides were confirmed. On the whole, observed dispersion was in line with the present knowledge upon which we built our forecasts, including the prognosis which you recalled for obtaining goods and for an economic turn-around for the suffering land. Secondly, we became convinced that with the repeated, general decline in the radiation level, the situation remains sufficiently complex to require us to weigh our decisions. There is a great diversity to the landscape in the zone, and forest, swamp, field and meadow react in different ways to the radiation. The natural differences intensify the irregularity of the pollution; there are many large and small "patches" and "points" in the area with a radiation level exceeding that of the surrounding area.

Finally, we are convinced of the great capabilities of nature to renew itself and heal the severe wounds inflicted by man. For example, last winter, the crop which was not gathered formed a safe carpet covering the radioactive dust which had fallen on the fields. In the forests, which received the brunt of the fallout, the leaves and part of the needles shed in the fall played a similar role. For that reason, almost no radionuclides rise from there to be carried by the wind...



[Question] Do you mean to say that there is no problem at all with the air in zone right now?

[Answer] In individual places the problem remains and people work there only in respirators. But, for example, when there is no wind, we have virtually clean air, and only about 4 kilometers from the station.

Such an improvement in the radiation situation pleases us all; that is only natural. However, as far as normalization of the present situation, the more resounding question is: but what next? The difficulty of the answer lies in the fact that, today, no one can make a long-term forecast about the behavior of the fallout which is in the ground right now, or in its surface layer. We know for sure that, on the whole, it is only slightly soluble in water. Thus the bulk of the radionuclides is absorbed into the ground very slowly. Partly for this reason, we have clean, completely safe drinking water in the Pripjat and Kiev reservoirs.

One suggestion arises from this fact: leave these fields, forests, meadows and swamps alone for 30-50 years. We cannot agree with this for the very reason that, today, there is no guarantee that the radionuclides will not reach the water table.

Besides, this beautiful little corner of Polesye has suffered because of our generation, because of people who are living now. Are we to leave the clean-up and restoration to our children and grandchildren?

Finally, we must not allow ourselves to discard this national property; this zone, after all, is more than 300 thousand hectares. Even without this, there is too much land in the country covered by dumps and taken up by various rights of way. For this reason, we must return the land to the people for a safe and abundant life.

How best to cope with this task — by what plan, at what pace, what technology to use, and where and what reclamation measures to use, is another matter. Today it is clear that the radiation situation in the zone remains very mixed. Naturally, in such a situation we cannot be in a hurry or use methods which have not been tried in practice. But neither can we go too slowly, waiting forever. We must act, and our laboratory has begun to develop various agricultural methods for the conditions of the zone. In this way, today, the laboratory is carrying out a twofold task: to develop a production base, and to expand and intensify scientific examination of the results of production experiments. For the second task, unfortunately, the laboratory is not being equipped quickly enough now with specialists in the area of radiobiology. I hope that this temporary difficulty will not delay our reaching the final goal — recultivation of this territory.

[Question] Once again, some readers will regard such a phenomenon as too optimistic, or even too cheerful.

[Answer] I will not begin to answer labels. I will remind you that getting to that goal will take a significant amount of time, but our confidence that we will reach it grows stronger every month. I have already spoken about the difficulties of long-range forecasts; however, of the more than 300 thousand hectares, we have two which represent a unique model for the future condition of the soil in the zone. This is the area of the greenhouse combine where we are now.

The fact of the matter is that radionuclides get into the plantlife in two ways: through the roots (from the ground), and through aerosol action (from the air). In these processes, the root method is relatively stable while the aerosol method changes sharply while a significant amount of nuclides remains in the air.

If we cut off, or even sharply reduce and stabilize aerosol entry, we can study the root path without any great obstacles. And it is precisely the root method which will become the primary, and then the only channel for radionuclides to enter the food chain in the future.

At the time of the accident, the window of the combine were open as they are right now, and the soil of the greenhouse, like all the surrounding area, was covered with radioactive dust for several weeks. In the summer of last year, we began decontamination here of the roads to the greenhouse, and then we washed the glass thoroughly and cleaned the paths between drainage channels so that people could work.

However, the crushed rock and nutrient solution which serves as soil here was not decontaminated. When the frames were closed, we got an ideal sector for experiments: the soil in it was contaminated but, on the whole, was closed off from radioactive aerosol action from the outside, from the air.

Beginning in January of this year, we conducted a great number of experiments here in growing the greatest variety of vegetables, and also potatoes, currants, raspberries, strawberries and other crops.

The goal of the experiments is clear: to study the concentration and movement of specific contaminants. In the summer, it turned out that the content of radionuclides in cucumbers and tomatoes was within the range of existing health norms.

We consider this result to be reassuring since the crushed rock is, after all, still sufficiently heavily contaminated. After the accident, the radiation level was reduced roughly by a factor of 3 to 3-1/2 by natural decontamination — the radionuclides were washed out only by the nutrient solution which surrounds the root system. The dangerous particles from the solution are drawn out in the sediment which is removed from the greenhouse regularly.

After this first success, we tried to get products right away. In order to reduce the possible risks, we decided to grow vegetables for seed bearing rather than food. In this case, the efficiency of radionuclide passage from the soil is measured not in tenths or hundredths of a percent but ten-thousandths of a percent of the quantity of contamination in the ground.

And here you see the result; we are beginning to harvest seed crops. Now we have to ferment them, sort out the seeds, dry them, heat them, and check for germinating ability. Our customer, Ukrsortsemovoshch, who follows intently the maintenance of production of hybrid seeds, will get about 150 kilograms of seed.

[Question] And they present no danger to health? There are after all still radionuclides in them.

[Answer] There is no danger. The radioactivity of these products is so insignificant that you have to burn five kilograms of seed in order for the most sensitive instruments to detect a deviation from the natural radiation level. There is especially no danger since no one will gather these particular seeds together; the five kilograms will be sown during the course of planting two or three hectares.

Success with the seeds is not so much a scientific experiment only as it is a production success already. It is this result which strengthens our confidence in our complicated and unexplored method of returning the territory to agricultural use.

13254

#### **Kirghiz Officials on Nitrate Contamination of Fruit, Vegetables**

*18300061a Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 2 Dec 87 p 3*

[Article by V. Genis, chief epidemiologist, KiSSR Ministry of Health; and N. Ugarova, chief, Department of Nutrition Hygiene, Republic Sanitary-Epidemiological Station: "Caution: Nitrates. Why a Good Half of the Potatoes, Vegetables and Fruit We Grow Never Reach Our Table"]

[Text] Summer and fall have come and gone. Summing up the totals for the season, it can be said that today there are significantly fewer fruits and vegetables on the store counters even in comparison with years with the worst crop failures. However, we must also admit that we medical workers have not been delighted with their abundance in recent years. A paradoxical situation is developing: instead of performing their direct function, which is to serve as a vitamin factory, fruits and vegetables frequently cause harm because they contain impermissibly high concentrations of mineral fertilizer residues.

As we all know, nitrogen, phosphorous, and potassium are the basis of plant nutrition. Plants receive nitrogen from the soil in the form of nitrates which as the plant grows are transformed into proteins and other complex organic compounds. But when additional fertilizer is applied in excess, nitrogen fertilizers have the property of becoming transformed into toxic compounds that accumulate in the fruits of plants and make them dangerous to humans.

To be sure, the nitrate content of vegetables and melons is diminishing as a result of sanctions and explanatory work. But even the 9.9 percent of the produce that the sanitation service found to be polluted with nitrates last year totalled tens of thousands of tons of vegetables and fruits containing toxic substances. According to research laboratory data, this year, too, there were a sufficient number of examples of trade in fruits and vegetables with an excessive nitrate content. Cabbage sold by Store No 2 of the Sverdlovskaya ORPK on the first of July contained 2.7 times more nitrates than the norm. The cabbage was grown on the Prigorodnyy Sovkhoz. Onions sold in Store No 15 of the Leninskaya ORPK (from Osh Oblast) contained 3.3 times more nitrates than the norm. Higher nitrate pollution levels were detected in potatoes from the Sokulukskiy Special Farm and from the Ak-Beshim Sovkhoz in the Issyk-Atinskiy Rayon; in cucumbers from the Teplichnyy Sovkhoz, the Pobeda Kolkhoz, and Dzhang-Dzher Kolkhoz in the Sokulukskiy Rayon, etc. The highest excessive nitrate concentrations (3-5-fold) were detected in potatoes, cucumbers, cabbage, melons, and watermelons grown in the Kantskiy, Alamedinskiy, and Kalininskiy rayons; in the Leninsky, Kara-Suyskiy, and Suzakskiy rayons of Osh Oblast; in the Tuypskiy, Dzhety-Oguzskiy rayons of Issyk-Kul; and in the Kirovskiy, Leninpolskiy, and Talasskiy rayons of Talas Oblast.

Over 30 percent of the potatoes received last year from farms in Issyk-Kul Oblast contained significantly more nitrates than the permissible concentration. These are the principal reasons for the low quality of vegetables with respect to taste indicators, external appearance, rapid spoilage, and unsuitability for long storage. In addition to all this, an excessive nitrate content in fruit reduces the quantity of vitamin C and the total sugar content and at the same time increases the content of a number of mineral ballast substances. Every year, Gos-sannadzor organs take tens of tons of vegetables off the market due to excessive nitrate concentrations.

This happens because the farms do not carry out the decision of the republic government and Gossannadzor which prohibits the use of saltpeter in vegetable, melon and potato farming. The norms and schedules for applying other nitrogen-containing fertilizers, including organic fertilizers, are also violated. The agrotechnics of cultivating vegetables and melons is not observed. The agrochemical service does not as a rule study nitrate pollution of soil assigned for growing vegetables, melons and potatoes. Republic kolkhozes and sovkhozes still

ship uncertified produce to market. Trade and procurement organizations do not require suppliers to furnish documents certifying the quality of the produce and indicating the use of pesticides and mineral fertilizers or the results of laboratory tests for nitrates. And yet they, too, should perform such tests on fruit and vegetables that are to be stored for long periods of time or that are to be canned. After all, if they contain excessive amounts of nitrates, not only is harm inflicted on human health, but the state also suffers as a result of the sharply diminished keeping quality of the produce.

The order issued by the Deputy Chief State Public Health Officer of the USSR directing the veterinary service to step up its oversight over the nitrate content of marketed produce applies to the entire nation. In our republic, however, this work is not performed with the exception of individual rayons in Osh Oblast. Nor is the republic government order obligating veterinary laboratories to analyze produce for nitrates carried out. The veterinary service uses various pretexts in refusing to perform what it considers to be an "additional burden." This despite the fact that a simple method making it possible to obtain the results of analysis in a few minutes has been developed and put into practice. The republic SES [sanitary-epidemiological service] has trained laboratory specialists in the method.

The summer toil is behind us. But even now we must think of how to render harmless or at least reduce to a minimum the negative impact on humans of certain aspects of the growing chemicalization of agriculture. Gosagroprom and, to a certain degree, the Ministry of Health as well should first of all organize a broader network of laboratories to monitor vegetable, melon and potato crops so as to thoroughly check every batch of produce grown in both the state and private sector. It is no less important to see to it that all farms use scientifically substantiated, optimal norms for applying nitrogen fertilizer with due regard to the type of soil and type of plant under cultivation.

We believe that in the winter, when the agronomers' work load is relatively light, a precise chart should be compiled for every field indicating the quantity and types of mineral fertilizers that should be applied and the crops that should be grown in these fields. An agronomer is equal to this task.

Every housewife should know that nitrate content is appreciably reduced by cooking. A boiled potato, for example, contains 80 percent fewer nitrates than a raw potato. Vegetables should be stored at low positive temperatures because heat transforms nitrates into nitrites which present a still greater threat to health.

Immediate measures must be taken to bring proper order to the storage of mineral fertilizers. Each theft of nitrogen fertilizers must be regarded as an extraordinary event. Order must also be brought to the sale of nitrogen fertilizers in the trade network. Nor should medical

personnel be separate from this work. They, together with specialists and technologists, must devise substantiated recommendations for public catering establishments and the population on how to cook vegetables that contain nitrates.

Militia agencies, which have the responsibility of taking vegetables, melons, and potatoes unfit for consumption off the market, have still not found their place in this important work. They must not permit the organization of "spontaneous" trading in vegetables and melons that have not been laboratory tested.

And there is yet another circumstance of no little importance. Even after carrying out the enormous effort pertaining to the laboratory monitoring of the content of nitrates in agricultural produce, Gosannadzor agencies are still not confident of its effectiveness because no clearly defined relationship has been established with the militia and the veterinary service. The actual sellers deliver samples of melon crops to sanitary-epidemiological stations. There are no protected places for produce pending the completion of laboratory testing.

Why should we not follow the experience of other union republics in this area? The Lithuanian SSR Gosagroprom, for example, has established an integrated interbranch program for reducing nitrate content in potatoes and vegetables. Lithuanian farms keep a strict count of the quantity and time of application of fertilizers on all vegetable and potato fields. Five days before the mass harvest of potatoes and basic vegetable crops, farm agronomers together with representatives of procurement organizations take samples from the fields and submit them for analysis at agriculture chemicalization stations. Nitrate content is recorded for each batch of produce. Checks are also conducted by trade-procurement organizations, enterprises in the canning industry, and sanitary-epidemiological stations.

Through the joint efforts of Gosagroprom, Kirgizpotrebsoyuz, and the republic's Ministry of Health, we can also establish proper order among us. All that is necessary is that everyone who is directly or indirectly connected with this problem must remember that human health and life are at stake.

5013

### **Pesticide Contamination of Foodstuffs in Armenia Examined**

*18300061b Yerevan*

*KOMMUNISTinRussian14 Nov 87p 2*

[Article by Sarmakeshyan: "This Dangerous Protection"]

[Text]Today we return once again to questions raised in the articles "A Scientific Card Game," "A Pesticide Salad," and "Fruits of the Absence of Control." The problems under discussion are timely. Their solution

determines the quality of today's agricultural produce and is closely connected with the state of the environment. The editors await the response of specialists to the issues raised.

### Is Fruit Always Beneficial?

The bountiful supply of fruit and vegetables on the counters in summer is a delightful sight. They are bright and appetizing. Even the most demanding shopper will find the goods here to his liking. And the assortment in the stores during this period is also quite large. Shopping is brisk. One wants not only to eat twice as much fruit and vegetables but also to make up for the scarcity of vitamins in the winter and spring. Do fruit and vegetables only bring us benefit? This question has become especially timely in today's agricultural production.

Without the use of plant protection agents, it is impossible to produce an abundant harvest and secure the necessary quality of agricultural produce today. Natural conditions in the south not only provide broad opportunities for the development of agriculture but also create favorable conditions for weeds, insect pests, and the development of plant diseases. In our republic there is a wide network of scientific and production institutions whose activity is directly connected with plant protection. They have the responsibility of developing and implementing the necessary measures in this direction and of monitoring their proper execution. "What kind of plant protection agents are used in modern agricultural production? What is their impact on man and the environment? What is considered the most promising direction?" We addressed these questions to D. Simonyan, deputy director for scientific work at the Scientific Research Institute of Plant Protection.

"Pesticides remain the principal means of protection for the present. These substances are highly active and produce a rapid, tangible effect," he said. "At the same time, with the slightest deviation from the technology of their use, they can have the most adverse impact on the environment, on man, on animals, and especially on the quality of agricultural produce. Exceeding the permissible level of pesticide residues in foodstuffs can result in a large number of illnesses, can intensify the negative impact of other factors, and can depress the human organism's defensive mechanisms. Accordingly, the development of biological protection agents is considered to be the most promising direction. However, we cannot renounce the use of pesticides today since neither science nor production are prepared for the mass introduction of biological methods of control. The current task for today is the unflagging observance of the technology of pesticide use and the maximum introduction of biological control methods."

The scientific position is thus very clearly defined. To what degree is the theoretical aspect of the matter embodied in practice.

### Chemicals "By Eye"

"The situation with respect to the use of pesticides in republic agricultural production is excellent," states S. Voskanyan, deputy chairman of the Armselkhokhimiya RNPO [Republic Science-Production Association]. "There are no technological violations and the application of chemicals is reduced to the minimum."

"Another question naturally arises. How can it be explained that spot checks of agricultural produce in 1986 alone revealed 16 cases in which the maximum permissible level of pesticide residues was exceeded in agricultural produce?"

"The control service exists for the very purpose of detecting such cases," S. Voskanyan explains.

In this regard there is no basis for disagreement with him. However, the mere fact that there is such a number of prohibitions imposed on the harvest does not in any way mean that the situation with respect to the use of chemical plant protection agents is excellent. Moreover, spot checks do not provide exhaustive information on the quality of all agricultural produce. It was not possible to obtain from S. Voskanyan any particularly conclusive information. But after all, one cannot achieve success by trying to conceal substantial shortcomings or by avoiding important problems. And the problems in this area are quite numerous. Their solution must be approached with full civic and professional responsibility from the standpoint of glasnost.

How can existing shortcomings in the pesticide use technology be explained?

**One of the reasons is the shortage of qualified cadres.** Armenian institutions of higher learning do not train specialists in agrochemistry at all. Specialization in this profession is more of a formal nature and does not provide deep knowledge. The Armenian Agricultural Institute trains agronomers in plant protection but on the farms this position is frequently filled by people lacking the necessary knowledge. As a result, the phytosanitary state of the fields is not examined and chemical preparations are applied arbitrarily. Schedules for application and dosages of pesticides are violated. Nor is agriculture supplied with the necessary assortment of chemical agents. When the same preparation is applied over an extended period, insect pests develop immunity. The goal of [chemical] treatment is not achieved. This in turn necessitates increasing the concentration of the preparation and more frequent application.

**Nor is proper attention devoted to the proper use of sown areas.** And this is also an important reserve for reducing the quantity of chemicals used. **The situation with respect to the storage and shipment of pesticides continues to be absolutely inadmissible.** There are very many violations of the use of toxic chemicals but the impression is that no one is concerned about these problems. Republic farms



continue to steer a course of gross output, entirely forgetting the fact that the main goal of agricultural production is to produce a quality product.

### The Uncontrolled Market

The question naturally arises: who should monitor the activity of farms? Who should be called to account for gross violations? Formally, this is the function of the Armsekhokhimiya RNPO and its rayon subdivisions, but this organization does not have a real monitoring possibility because it not only lacks the necessary rights vis-a-vis farm managers and specialists but does not even have the necessary transport. The farms themselves also bear no responsibility whatsoever for violations and the quality of their product is simply not taken into account in the process of evaluating their performance. But if specialists are in one way or another involved in the use of toxic chemicals in the state sector and if there are at least spot checks of the content of toxic compounds, the private sector and the market continue to be totally uncontrolled and private parties gain access not only to preparations sold for private use but also to those that are prohibited for use outside of state farms. The violations here are not only gross but are openly criminal. Thus, watermelons marketed in 1986 were found to contain Trichlorfon residues 40 (!) times higher than the allowable norm. And after all, this preparation is not intended for use on watermelons at all. The vicious practice of treating early varieties of grapes with a five percent solution of Trichlorfon has also become widespread. While the annual number of toxic poisonings resulting from the consumption of market produce continues to reach alarming proportions, effective measures to establish strict controls are not being taken.

Such a situation cannot be permitted. The quality of foodstuffs cannot be left to the will of fate. It is at the very least unforgivable not to eliminate the possibility of even the slightest risk. The strict observance of the technology of pesticide use and the creation of a reliable barrier to the release of toxic produce are an urgent task. **It is essential not only to expand the toxicological monitoring service but also to make it nondepartmental.** It seems rational to transfer this function to the Committee for Environmental Protection.

### Hazy Perspectives

What is the situation regarding the development and introduction of biological methods? The use of entomophages—insect predators and the parasites that destroy them—are acknowledged as the most promising direction in insect pest control. The Institute of Plant Protection has been in existence for 50 years and is quite a large scientific institution. It has 58 candidates and 3 doctors of sciences on its staff. There would appear to be basis for expecting a corresponding return. A certain amount of work here is unquestionably in progress. The development of a parasite to control pests of the mulberry tree and the phytoseyulus—a tick predator used

to control hothouse white flies—was an important advance. While there are also other developments, there is not a sufficient basis for making a positive evaluation of the contribution of personnel of the biological methods laboratory. But 5 candidates and 1 doctor of sciences working in the laboratory are making limited use of their potential. As regards problems inhibiting the activity of this laboratory, it is the direct obligation of the institute's administration to create all conditions for fruitful scientific work in this sector, which is of enormous practical importance. The limited nature of the scientific development effort and the absence of modern technology for growing entomophages in turn determine the activity of the republic production laboratory of biological control methods, which is an intermediate link between science and production. But what can the laboratory do if science is working at half-strength? But the laboratory cannot widely introduce even that which is already in existence. In 12 years, that is in all the years it has been in existence, it has been housed in old, makeshift premises. It has been a poor relative forced to beg working space from hothouse farms. The laboratory lacks the possibility of organizing the necessary production of entomophages. During all these years, PMK-17 of Trust No 1 of the Main Administration for Capital Construction and Reconstruction of Armenian SSR Gosagroprom has been erecting a building for the laboratory. The building appears to be complete but it cannot be commissioned. Over the long years, the conditions have changed. It now develops that the building cannot be hooked up to sewer and water lines, that new solutions must be found, that the answer to unforeseen problems must be sought. As regards hothouse type facilities for the breeding of entomophages, there is as yet not even a design of them in existence. Why then create a laboratory if it is practically devoid of the possibility of discharging its direct function.

A number of important scientific developments have been made by the Institute of Microbiology of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences. It developed BIP—a new effective bacterial preparation used for controlling Lepidoptera and a number of other insects. Nevertheless, the broad introduction of biological control techniques in agricultural production continues to be a matter of the indefinite future.

A serious obstacle to the effective use of biological protective agents is their limited number. While these agents can be used against one pest, such agents simply do not exist for others. Thus it is necessary to resort time and time again to chemicals. The result is a vicious circle. Pesticides destroy not only pests but useful insects and microorganisms as well. **The development of the entire necessary complex of biological protective agents has become an urgent scientific task. The organization of large-scale production of biological control agents is also an immediate necessity.** The necessary development and introduction measures will require considerable material investments. However, this is costly only in the initial stage. Well organized production of promising plant



protection agents will become significantly less expensive in time. The final goal—the production of harmless foodstuffs—is worth any cost. The training of cadres to use biological control means should also be organized. The task of gradually reducing the share of chemicals in agricultural production requires the coordinated efforts of science and production plus competence and maximum responsibility for people's life and health. The competence and responsibility of Armselkhozkhimiya and agricultural science.

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### Academician on Black Sea Pollution, Dnieper Dam Protests

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[Interview with K. M. Sytnik, vice-president of UkSSR Academy of Sciences, under rubric "Nature and Us": "Caution: The Black Sea!"]

[Text] In recent years a poisonous hydrogen-sulfide zone began suddenly and sharply to rise from the depths of the Black Sea and to approach the surface. This phenomenon, which today is a matter of alarm for the broad public, is among the ecological problems that journalist N. Baklanov discusses with K. M. Sytnik, academician of UkSSR Academy of Sciences, vice-president of UkSSR Academy of Sciences, and chairman of the UkSSR committee for UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere program.

[Question] Konstantin Merkurievich, late last year the motion picture "Sea With a Double Bottom," produced by the Kiev Popular-Science Motion Picture Studio, appeared on screens throughout the country. That motion picture showed in detail the present condition of the Black Sea and its possible future. In that film, for which you were the scientific advisor, on the basis of complete research it was shown that there is rapidly rising from the depths of the sea a "dead" hydrogen-sulfide zone where not a single living substance that breathes oxygen can live. This fact, and others, have been well known to the public. What steps in this regard are being planned and are being taken — from the making of the diagnosis to the treatment of the "disease" itself?

[Answer] One of the unique features of specifically the Black Sea lies in the fact that its depths are 90-percent filled with the lifeless hydrogen-sulfide zone. For thousands of years that zone was in state of equilibrium, and its boundary came approximately to 200 meters from the surface. At the same time the purer upper strata of the sea, which were freshened by the major rivers of Eastern Europe, were rich in life. Then, all of a sudden, that "dead" zone began to rise, and with every decade that rise has been faster and faster. The appearance on the northern shelf, almost at the very surface, of dangers

accumulations of hydrogen sulfide — which, incidentally, are not linked with the natural zone at the depths — is a very serious warning to all of us. Unfortunately, the mechanism of that phenomenon has not yet been completely ascertained.

It must be emphasized that the threatening situation in the Black Sea is aggravated by the thoughtless actions of man himself. And if one speaks in concrete terms, it is aggravated by the pollution of the rivers that flow into it — the Dnieper, the Bug, the Dnestr, the Danube. In their drainage areas little is being done to purify the runoff water at chemical and metallurgical enterprises, in the timber and food industry, and in the mining of ore. As a result of the inefficient irrigation methods, one continues to observe the salination of the land adjacent to the sea and the runoff from the fields into the river, and then into the sea, of a considerable quantity of fertilizers and chemicals. The waste products from the animal-husbandry complexes also are dumped there.

[Question] Some scientists are of the opinion that, if large-scale reservoirs are formed at river mouths and they are filled with polluted water, it is possible that sudden outbursts of mineral and organic waste can occur, and those outbursts will deliver concentrated, truly knockout blows to the Black Sea...

[Answer] I share that opinion. Recently there was a meeting in Dnepropetrovsk of the UkSSR Academy of Science Council of Problems of the Biosphere. The purity of the rivers was being discussed. Once again we came to the logical conclusion that is prompted both by our own knowledge and by ordinary commonsense: if we do not achieve purity of the water, we should in no instances dam the rivers. Otherwise they will become cesspools and sedimentation pools. The formula is a simple one: first, clear water. Then, dikes. Otherwise a calamity is inevitable.

True, the ministries that are in charge of economic activity in this region assure us that they will give us pure water. But water cannot be purified simply by words and assurances. Where is the new equipment? Where are the modern technological schemes? I do not have any reasons for feeling that the Dnieper, Bug, or Dnestr will become pure within the next few years simply from the assurances that the ministries give us.

[Question] Do you mean, then, that the construction of the dike separating the Dnieper and the Bug from the Black Sea is premature?

[Answer] The UkSSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and its subordinate departmental institutes feel that writers and journalists have been exaggerating the danger of that construction. However, the alarm in this regard has been expressed also by many authoritative scientists and entire institutes that have been studying the problems of the Black Sea and the rivers that flow into it.

The Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources asserts that we need water in the south; there is not enough water there. Therefore, they say, we will fence off as a gigantic earthen dam the Dnieper and Bug estuary; we will convert it into a storage tank of fresh water that will be enough for everyone!

It is, of course, possible to do this. But the resolution of this question, and especially the building of the dike, should not be carried out until we are absolutely convinced that clean water will come into the estuary. Until that time we ought to be concerned with the reserves: the economizing of water, the use of underground springs, lakes, and small and medium-sized rivers.

In this regard I would like to express the following idea. A strange situation has developed in our country: the country expends colossal amounts of money on science, in order to carry out all types of human activity efficiently, but the scientists' conclusions are often completely ignored. That is what happened with Lake Baykal — while the arguments were going on, a combine was built there. And the situation is developing in that way in Leningrad — while some people were protesting and giving warnings, others were building a dike in the Bay of Finland while failing to observe the proper sequence in the activation of the structures. This can also happen to the Dnieper-Bug hydroelectric center. Recently I visited thee and was struck by the fact that gigantic construction was proceeding at full throttle — the preparatory operations for the building of the dike, the building of housing, etc. And yet one could take into consideration today the lessons of the past!

I could give a tremendous number of such examples — beginning with the methods used to bury production waste and ending with the selection of places for the erecting of new enterprises and nuclear power plants. They all force us to think carefully: could it be that we do not need science at all? If so, then let's talk outright about this — the times are such that any problems can be and ought to be discussed openly. And if we come to the conclusion that science is indeed necessary (and I am convinced of this), then it is necessary to take into consideration the opinion of the scientists who are thinking not only about our country's needs today, but also those needs tomorrow.

The situation has reached such a point that some economic managers state that scientists are practically opponents of progress, but those managers forget that progress is carried out for people and it also means, in particular, the development of comfortable conditions in

life which would be impossible without the preservation of the natural environment. Otherwise, what would that progress be: a lot of machines, a lot of factories, a lot of everything, but nothing to breathe?

[Question] Well, now that the discussion has come around to air, I would like to know what influence the enterprises in the chemical industry which are situated in the North Crimea are exerting upon that peninsula, which is such a treasure for our country.

[Answer] In nature, everything is intertwined with everything else. Our press loves to tell how recently the chemical plants operating in a certain West European country have been poisoning with acid rain the land in another country. But that occurs not only "over there," but also in our own country. Any such enterprise inevitably changes the atmosphere in a radius of 100-200 kilometers. In this regard the question arises: should this be done in the Crimea, which is visited annually by millions of people from all over the country for the purpose of getting some relaxation and building up one's strength and health during their vacation? The answer, I think, is obvious.

At times I begin to think that we forget the uniqueness of the Crimea. The Crimea is of tremendous importance in the life of the Soviet nation and at the same time it occupies a minuscule part of the country's territory. Are we really to believe that our economic managers cannot get along without it? I am convinced that it is possible to find a way out of the situation that has been created and to locate the new enterprises elsewhere.

[Question] But what should be done about those that already exist?

[Answer] They can be converted to technological schemes that produce no waste products. But this is a prolonged process — it takes many years. Therefore, in order not to lose time, it is necessary to equip those enterprises with the most up-to-date purification structures. Obviously, this is not always simple. But the Crimea deserves this. It is necessary, of course, also to resolve the question about the sewage runoff that is carried out into the sea and that pollutes the shore.

Obviously, our vast country has a large number of jobs to do. But among those jobs we must isolate those which must be resolved first of all and by united, concentrated efforts. The problems of the Black Sea and the Crimea are definitely among those jobs.

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